



Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images

Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s



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بهاوش پنهانهای دران و ناز پنهانهای کلاویجها ندوی زمین تخت برداشند شیدم که کاورشد بر فلک زهر کوه در ایل از این برند و بسیار و مانند بان جوایخ برده و یروغها که سار و کانه از این	پشت بران کوه بر کردستان بیاورد و بر تخت بایستد و هارین با برانداز باشند مروغ نام است و سلاطین که کوه از آن روز بر امان که ناخنک سار و شیر و گمان لاند بخیر بخودان این منیر باشد لکس که کرد شاز ی کش و به باغی در نشاند شازانه از این و شاز	پشت از این پنهان دران چو شد کرسنه و پنهان پنهان که شاز بود و پنهان که کوه از آن روز بر امان که ناخنک سار و شیر و گمان لاند بخیر بخودان این منیر باشد لکس که کرد شاز ی کش و به باغی در نشاند شازانه از این و شاز	بهاوش پنهانهای دران و ناز پنهانهای کلاویجها ندوی زمین تخت برداشند شیدم که کاورشد بر فلک زهر کوه در ایل از این برند و بسیار و مانند بان جوایخ برده و یروغها که سار و کانه از این
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ری میشد و چو میشد بیاورد و خواستد برید عاده میشد درون خانه شیر باغی و درون و کوه و پشته چو آمدن جهان باغ و تخت مزدخدا و پناه چو نه دای بر و عازاد و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای و در پنهان و پنهان و دای	بهاوش پنهانهای دران چو شد کرسنه و پنهان پنهان که شاز بود و پنهان که کوه از آن روز بر امان که ناخنک سار و شیر و گمان لاند بخیر بخودان این منیر باشد لکس که کرد شاز ی کش و به باغی در نشاند شازانه از این و شاز	پشت از این پنهان دران چو شد کرسنه و پنهان پنهان که شاز بود و پنهان که کوه از آن روز بر امان که ناخنک سار و شیر و گمان لاند بخیر بخودان این منیر باشد لکس که کرد شاز ی کش و به باغی در نشاند شازانه از این و شاز	بهاوش پنهانهای دران و ناز پنهانهای کلاویجها ندوی زمین تخت برداشند شیدم که کاورشد بر فلک زهر کوه در ایل از این برند و بسیار و مانند بان جوایخ برده و یروغها که سار و کانه از این
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Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images

Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s

BY MARIE LUKENS SWIETOCHOWSKI AND STEFANO CARBONI

with essays by A. H. Morton and Tomoko Masuya

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

This volume has been published in conjunction with the exhibition "Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s" held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 1–May 1, 1994. The catalogue has been made possible in part by support provided by Hossein Afshar, Sheikh Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, and an anonymous donor, all from Kuwait.

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Frontispiece: Kaykāvūs Falls from the Sky, from the Metropolitan Museum's Small *Shāhnāma*. See catalogue number 15

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NOTE

The transliteration system of Arabic is the one used in *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. The transliteration system of Persian is based on that employed in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, volumes 6 and 7, except that the diphthong *ay* is used in place of *ai*.

Preface

The two fourteenth-century manuscripts that are the subject of this catalogue and the core of the exhibition that it celebrates have for a long time charmed viewers and intrigued scholars. The poetic anthology, the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, is dated 1341, while the copy of the Persian national epic, or *Shāhnāma*, has no date, being defective. No convincing evidence for the place of origin of either manuscript has been put forth until now. The collaborative efforts by the authors of this catalogue have yielded several discoveries, proving how productive it is for art historians to cooperate with linguists and literature experts in the study of illustrated manuscripts.

The form and content of the exhibition and the catalogue took shape as research progressed. It was originally Stefano Carboni's idea to reassemble the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* manuscript; he had recognized that its dispersed leaves were unusual, forming a unique chapter on illustrated poetry. The essay below by Dr. Carboni presents and discusses the art historical aspects of this poetic anthology; the double-page frontispiece and the miniatures in the only illustrated chapter are examined in his accompanying entries. Alexander H. Morton of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London was asked to study the Persian text of the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*. He has contributed a thorough and most illuminating essay in which he convincingly links the manuscript to Isfahan and explores the antecedents of this particular genre of illustrated poetry.

Marie Lukens Swietochowski has provided an essay on the Metropolitan Museum's so-called Schulz or Gutman *Shāhnāma* and in the entries that follow she interprets its forty-one miniatures. Considered by some scholars in recent years to be from Sultanate India, the *Shāhnāma* can now be related stylistically to the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, partly on the basis of the right half of the latter's frontispiece, published here for the

first time. Finally, the challenging task of reconstructing this defective *Shāhnāma* manuscript has been successfully accomplished by Tomoko Masuya, Kevorkian Research Fellow, Department of Islamic Art.

The arguments and analysis contained in the present catalogue are substantially enhanced by the complement of thirty-nine color illustrations, the funding for which was generously provided by Hossein Afshar, Sheikh Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, and an anonymous contributor, all from Kuwait. The catalogue accompanies an exhibition in the Hagop Kevorkian Special Exhibitions Gallery of the Department of Islamic Art. The exhibition, organized by Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni, curators in the department, has been made possible by The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, which has generously provided an endowment for exhibitions in that gallery.

The exhibition bears witness to the fruitful collaboration among the catalogue's authors, but could not have been realized without the generous cooperation of the institutional lenders: the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge; The Cleveland Museum of Art; the Princeton University Libraries; and the Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya (Kuwait National Museum). The Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., which is not permitted to lend, instead provided a transparency of their *Mu'nis al-ahrār* leaf.

We want also to acknowledge the special assistance provided by various individuals, among them Julia Bailey, Don Skemer, Mary McWilliams, and Sheikha Hussa al-Sabah, as well as by Helen K. Otis, Conservator in Charge, Department of Paper Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum, who applied her conservational skills as needed.

Daniel Walker

Curator in Charge, Department of Islamic Art



cat. no. 1 (detail)

The Illustrations in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*

STEFANO CARBONI

The Persian manuscript entitled *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (*The Free Men's Companion to the Subtleties of Poems*) has been known to art historians since one of its folios was exhibited in Paris at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1912, and the manuscript itself was shown in New York in the galleries of Charles of London in 1914.¹ Its colophon places it among the few dated illustrated codices of the fourteenth century: It was completed in the month of Ramadan of the year A.H. 741, which corresponds to February–March of A.D. 1341 (fig. 1). This poetic anthology was written and compiled by Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī. Six of its folios (cat. nos. 2–7) were detached and sold to different individuals and institutions: They once constituted the twenty-ninth chapter of the poetic anthology and, apart from a double-page frontispiece at the beginning of the codex (cat. no. 1), they are the only illustrated pages in the manuscript.² All six folios are presently in public collections in the United States. In textual order, they are: in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge (cat. no. 2);³ The Cleveland Museum of Art (cat. no. 3);⁴ the Princeton University Libraries, Robert Garrett Collection (cat. no. 4);⁵ two are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. nos. 5–6);⁶ and one is in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (cat. no. 7).⁷ The manuscript itself was the property of the Kevorkian Foundation in New York until it was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1979,⁸ and is presently in the Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Kuwait (LNS 9 MS). The total number of folios is presently 257. The text is written mainly in black ink, but red, verdigris, and pale blue are used for titles and catchwords. The first folios con-

tain illuminated cartouches in gold on cobalt blue backgrounds. Folios 2v–3r are framed by borders illuminated in gold. Folios 3v–4r contain the index of the manuscript and its original division into thirty chapters (see fig. 2). On folios 4v–5r is a chart including two hundred names of Persian poets written



Figure 1. Colophon. Leaf in a *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* manuscript, folio 257v. Isfahan, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341. Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Ministry of Information, LNS 9 MS

Page	Chapter	Title
3v	الباب الأول	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الثاني	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الثالث	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الرابع	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الخامس	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب السادس	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب السابع	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الثامن	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب التاسع	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب العاشر	في ذكر النسخ
3v	الباب الحادي عشر	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الثاني	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الثالث	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الرابع	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الخامس	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب السادس	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب السابع	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الثامن	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب التاسع	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب العاشر	في ذكر النسخ
4r	الباب الحادي عشر	في ذكر النسخ

Figure 2. Table of contents. Leaves in a *Mu'nis al-ahrār* manuscript, folios 3v–4r. Isfahan, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341. Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Ministry of Information, LNS 9 MS

inside a checkerboard pattern, one name for each small square (see fig. 3).⁹

The literary importance of Chapter 29 of the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, and of the manuscript as a whole, is examined by Alexander H. Morton in the following essay. The range of the present discussion is therefore limited to the art-historical aspects of the codex, its frontispiece, and its illustrated Chapter 29. However, it must be stressed that here, even more than in a discussion of other illustrated texts, the relationship between written words and images is a very special one. When one reads the words mentioned in the *Rāḥat al-sūdūr*, “Read one half written down, for the other half, through the names of the images, has meaning and meter”—a reference to the first short poem found in Chapter 29¹⁰—one realizes that the text would have no meaning without its illustrations

and that the images would be of no use without the first half of the written verses. Accordingly, although the two essays here on the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* represent the attempt by experts in two different fields to distinguish between the literary and the art-historical aspects of the manuscript, it is important to consider them as a common effort to assess the place of this manuscript in the history of both Persian painting and literature. The entries on the six folios (eleven illustrated sides) of Chapter 29, including a description of the miniature paintings illustrated and the accompanying original texts and their translations, underline the significance of the relationship of text to image in this manuscript.

Morton's conclusions, based on the internal evidence of the codex and on the biography of its author, Ibn Badr al-Dīn Jārmī, are of paramount

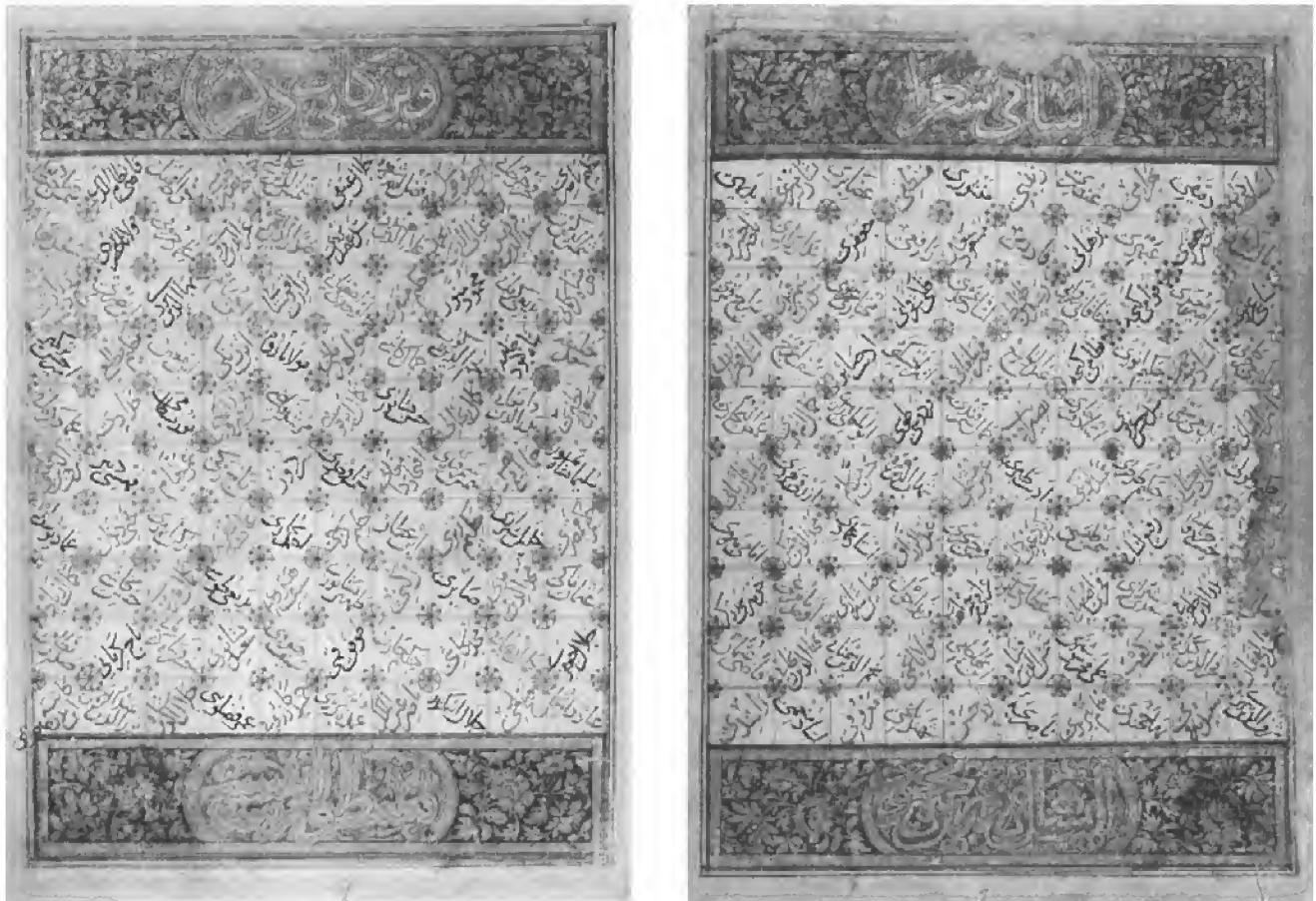


Figure 3. Chart of names of Persian poets. Leaves in a *Mu'nis al-ahrār* manuscript, folios 4v–5r. Isfahan, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341. Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Ministry of Information, LNS 9 MS

importance in establishing that the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* was written in Isfahan. These conclusions are in accord with the discussion of the style of the paintings that follows.

1. Previous attributions

While the miniature paintings in the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* have long been known to scholars of Persian painting, their role within the manuscript as part of a single chapter on illustrated poetry has not been understood before.¹¹ The manuscript itself has been variously described as a treatise on astrology,¹² an illustrated dictionary,¹³ an anthology of poetry (correctly so),¹⁴ a scientific anthology or dictionary,¹⁵ or an encyclopedic and poetic work.¹⁶

The question of the attribution of the miniatures in the manuscript to a school of painting has been

addressed by various scholars. The most common attribution has been to the school of Shiraz. According to Basil Gray, "By 1341 presumably many of the court artists from Tabriz may have sought employment elsewhere [that is, in Shiraz], and this may account for the superior execution of these pages."¹⁷ The same author also suggests that "it is possible however that there was a closely allied school of book illustrators working at Isfahan, whose political fate followed that of Shiraz."¹⁸ Ernst Grube has given considerable attention to the paintings in the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* over the years. Writing at about the same time as Gray, in 1962 Grube noticed a similarity between the paintings in this manuscript and those in a *Shāhnāma* produced in Shiraz in the same year, 1341,¹⁹ and suggested Tabriz as the place of production of the former codex.²⁰ Fifteen years later, Grube

again rejected the attribution to Shiraz but did not mention Tabriz or any other place as a possible source of the manuscript.²¹ The most recent attribution of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* links it to the related problem of identifying the origins of the so-called Sultanate painting of northern India. Stuart Cary Welch and Marie Swietochowski have suggested that as early as the fourteenth century the paintings of Shiraz might have given rise to and influenced Sultanate painting; hence their tentative attribution of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* to India.²²

2. The frontispiece

The first brief description of the illustrated, double-page frontispiece to the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* manuscript (cat. no. 1) was offered by Basil Robinson in his unpublished catalogue of the Kevorkian Collection: "... a court scene with a king and queen on the left; and a hunting scene on the right, the upper third of which is missing."²³ The court scene was published only once, in the Sotheby's sale catalogue in 1979;²⁴ the damaged hunting scene is unpublished. However, the frontispiece has not been examined in detail before.

The scene on the left shows a couple of high social rank, probably a prince and a princess, seated on a large wooden throne. They are depicted almost frontally, with their heads in three-quarter profile, and looking at each other. The woman is cross-legged while the man sits with his legs apart, his boots visible against the drapery of the throne. The prince raises a slender footed goblet and offers it to his female companion. The royal status of the princess is indicated by the white handkerchief that she holds in her right hand. Nine attendants surround the couple: Four of them, facing the royal personages, simply stand awaiting orders; four others, one of them a woman, occupy the foreground and are busy providing the prince and princess with food and drink; the ninth attendant, who stands just behind her mistress, holds the princess's fan.

This scene is easily recognized as Ilkhanid in both its composition and in the costumes worn by all the



Figure 4. The Funeral of Isfandiyār (detail). Leaf from the dispersed Great Ilkhanid *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Probably Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, 1330–35. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1933 (33.70)

figures. The attendants are dressed in plain short-sleeved tunics fastened at the right and decorated only by thin bands on the sleeves; they all wear a typical Mongol cap with a turned-up brim except for the figure holding the fan, whose pointed hat indicates her different social status. The princess's short-sleeved gold tunic is richly embroidered with large flowers; she appears to be bareheaded although it is possible she is wearing a thin veil. The prince is sumptuously dressed: His short-sleeved blue tunic has an embroidered roundel on the chest and is fastened by a gold belt; the sleeves of the white shirt under his tunic are richly decorated with what seems to be an inscribed *tirāz* band.²⁵ The prince's hat is very elaborate: It is probably fur brimmed, a long flap extends out from the back, and it is crowned by two large owl feathers and seven long eagle feathers. This type of headdress is often represented in Ilkhanid paintings, always in royal or princely scenes, such as the frontispiece of the *Tārīkh-i jabān-gushā* of 689/1290 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris),²⁶ a section of the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* completed in 714/1314 (Nasser D. Khalili Collection),²⁷ as well as in the now-dispersed Great Ilkhanid *Shāhnāma* of about 1330–35 (fig. 4).²⁸ From a comparison with miniature paintings in the well-known albums in Istanbul and in



Figure 5. A Prince on Horseback. Unidentified painting (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 50). Īlkhānid period, early 14th century. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Berlin²⁹ it appears evident that the number of feathers on a hat identified the social status of its owner: On both the Istanbul and the Berlin pages the prince's headdress bears three eagle feathers while those of some of his attendants have only one (see fig. 5). The hat of the royal personage illustrated in the frontispiece of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, crowned by seven feathers, probably represents the latest and most flamboyant development in Īlkhānid headdress fashion.

The hunting scene on the right of the double page seems to have been arranged in registers of which only the bottom one remains fully intact. It shows a rider dressed in the Mongol fashion, in a tunic decorated with gold flowers worn over a green shirt, in the act of piercing the body of a lion with his sword. Both the lion and horse also appear in Chapter 29, where they are very similarly represented; the lion's tail here has been retouched. Peculiar to the landscape setting on the shores of a river or



Figure 6. Double frontispiece. Leaves in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript, folios 1v–2r. Shiraz, Īnǰū'id period, A.H. 733/A.D. 1333. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, ex-Dorn 329

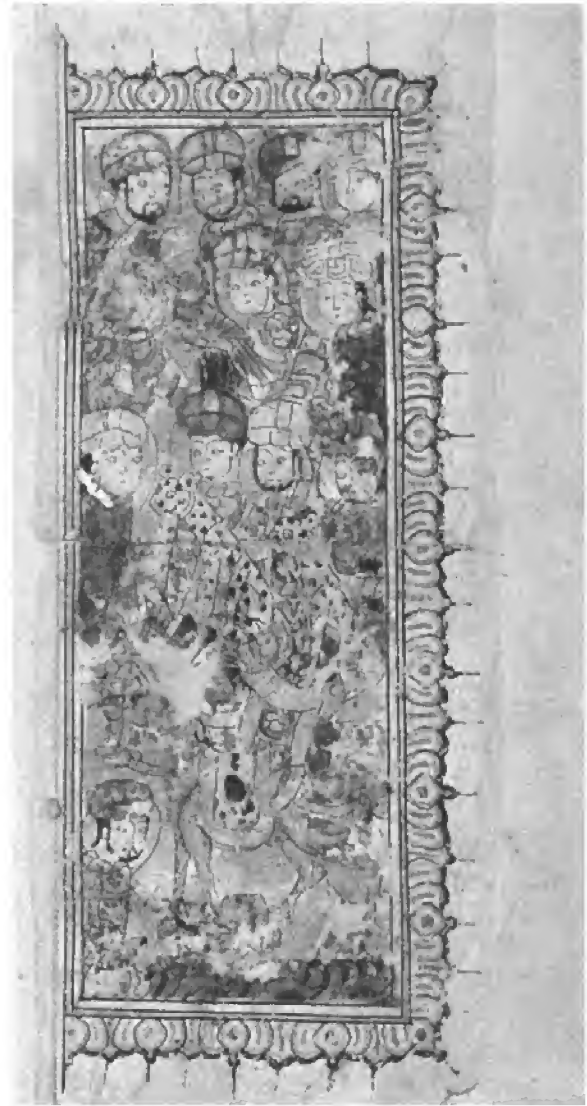
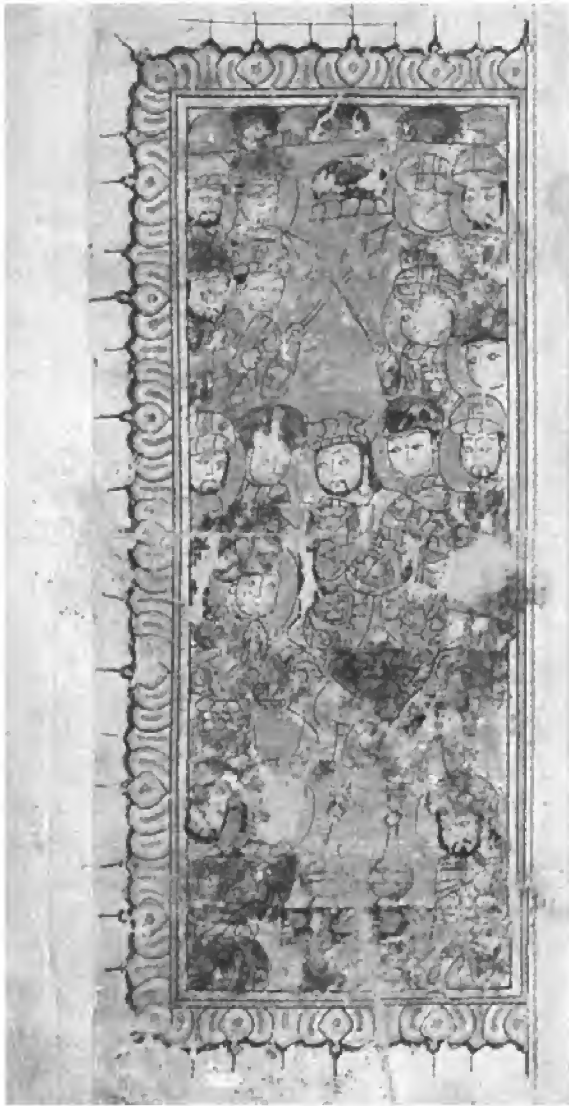


Figure 7. Double frontispiece. Leaves in a *Kalila va Dimna* manuscript, folios 2v–3r. Iran, A.H. 707/A.D. 1307–8. London, British Library, MS. Or. 13506

pond (in the foreground) are green and red triangular mountains bordered in gold and seen against a purple background. The mountains are of particular interest because they are depicted with the very same shape in the Metropolitan Museum's Gutman *Shāhnāma*, as well as in illustrations from another *Shāhnāma* in Berlin,³⁰ thus providing evidence of a date and location for the production of those manuscripts close to those of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, as argued by Marie Swietochowski below.

The second register, in the middle of the original page, is separated horizontally from the scene on the bottom by a gold line bordering the foreground. In the foreground of this second register are flowered plants that are commonly found throughout Chapter 29, thus confirming that all of the images were drawn and painted by the same hand. The scene represents an archer riding a horse—his head is now missing because of the damage to the page—who has just shot an arrow at one of the two hares that are

running away from him. The background of this register is bright red, while the large rock against which the hares are set is blue.

The very bottom of a third register, probably the topmost and last one, remains: Above the usual horizontal gold border the legs of a third horse and the bottoms of green and purple mountains are visible. Thus it would seem that the scene once must have shown three horsemen hunting animals in its three registers.

The scenes just described are entirely Īlkhānid in style, but other elements of the double frontispiece also clearly indicate the influence of contemporary illustrated manuscripts produced in Shiraz—those of the so-called Īnjū'id school of painting. This school was a local, independent offshoot of Īlkhānid painting and is associated with the rule of the Īnjū'id dynasty in the province of Fars in southern Iran between about 1330 and 1350.³¹ The general composition of the double page, with a hunting scene on the right side and a throne scene on the left, is paralleled in the Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* of 1333 in St. Petersburg (fig. 6),³² but a similar composition appeared earlier in the *Kalīla va Dimna* dated 1307 (fig. 7) in the British Library.³³ The double-page type of composition originated in the Īlkhānid period, although the concept of incorporating the image of the ruler with the royal pastime of the hunt in several registers in a single-page frontispiece occurs in north Jaziran manuscripts of the first half of the thirteenth century, such as the Vienna *Kitāb al-diryāq*.³⁴ These frontispieces were probably influenced by contemporary metalwork production.

The peculiar petal-patterned border that frames the double-page frontispiece and the rosette on the preceding page³⁵ was a popular device and very similar to that found in Īnjū'id painting, but it, too, originated in the earlier Īlkhānid period. The best parallels in the Īnjū'id period are the *Shāhnāma* manuscripts in Istanbul and St. Petersburg, dated 730/1330–31 (see fig. 8) and 733/1333, respectively, but the British Library *Kalīla va Dimna* of 1307 seems again to be their source of inspiration (fig. 7).³⁶ Also comparable is the upper border of the double-page

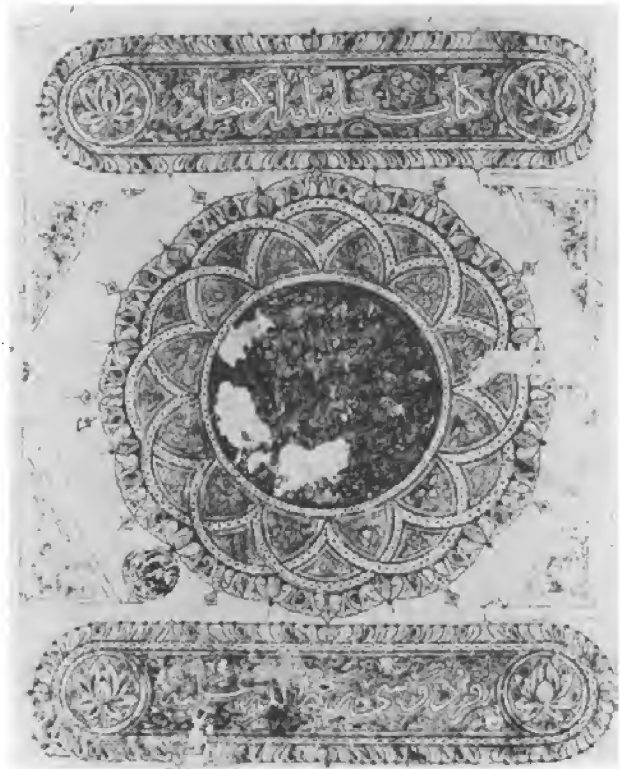


Figure 8. Title page. Leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript, folio 1r. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period, A.H. Šafar 730/A.D. November 1330. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H. 1479



Figure 9. Dedication page. Leaf from a *Shāhnāma* manuscript (recto). Shiraz, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341. Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Vever Collection, S86.0110



Figure 10. Opening rosette. Leaf in a *Manāfi' al-ḥayavān* manuscript, folio 2r. Marāgha, Ilkhānid period, last decade of the 13th century. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 500

illumination from the dispersed *Shah-nāma* dated 741/1341 in the Vever Collection, Washington, D.C. (see fig. 9).³⁷ The earliest extant example of this type of petal-patterned border decorates the rosette on the first folio of the Pierpont Morgan Library's *Manāfi' al-ḥayavān*, copied at Marāgha in northwestern Iran in the last decade of the thirteenth century (fig. 10).³⁸

The last feature that links the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* royal scene with contemporary Īnjū'id painting is its palette. The predominant colors of the frontispiece are gold and different hues of red and orange, with areas of purple and of olive green; the even tonality is broken only by the use of dark blue. Notwithstanding the very different style that gives Īnjū'id painting its distinctive liveliness and naïveté, the overall chromatic effect of all the known manuscripts belonging to the Īnjū'id school is close to that of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*.

The main question with regard to the frontispiece of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is the identity of the two royal figures. The matter is complicated by the fact that, as pointed out by Morton below, the text of the



Figure 11. Opening rosette. Leaf in a *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* manuscript, folio 1r. Isfahan, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341. Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Ministry of Information, LNS 9 MS

manuscript does not betray any dedication to a particular patron. However, that it was, indeed, dedicated to an individual of high rank, probably after the text was completed, seems certain not only because of the double frontispiece but also because of the dedicatory rosette (fig. 11), the text of which while unfortunately illegible today still shows traces of inked letters.³⁹

Although a member of the Lunbānī family has been mentioned as a possible patron, it cannot be ascertained that he is the prince depicted here (see Morton, p. 50). A posthumous dedication to the Ilkhānid ruler Abū Sa'īd or to his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who both died five years before the completion of the manuscript and whose deaths are much lamented by Ibn Jārmī, provides an appealing clue but the identity of the prince as either of the two seems unlikely.⁴⁰

The political situation in Isfahan and Shiraz before and about 1341 was confused.⁴¹ After the death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335, Isfahan was indirectly controlled by the Chūbānīd Shaykh Ḥasan, who

installed the Īlkhānid Sulaymān as ruler of the region, but local leaders, among whom was a member of the Lunbānī family, made the town almost independent. Shiraz was, instead, the main city of the Īnjū'id family under Mas'ūd Shāh, who had to fight for power against his brothers Kaykhusrau and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. As a matter of fact, Shams al-Dīn sought an alliance with the Chūbānid Pīr Ḥusayn and succeeded in replacing Mas'ūd for a short period in 739/1339, but he was killed in 740/1340; Mas'ūd reigned a second time until his death by assassination in 743/1343. The two families were linked by marriage when Mas'ūd Shāh became the husband of the Chūbānid Sulṭān Bakht, but historical facts disprove the theory that this would have resulted in a possible alliance between Chūbānids and Īnjū'ids.⁴²

Since any evidence of the identity of the princely couple portrayed in the frontispiece of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* that might have been provided by the dedicatory rosette must unfortunately be dismissed because of the damage to the page, it is impossible to positively identify the two figures. However, the presence of the rosette indicates that Ibn Jārmī wished to dedicate his work to a personage who, about Ramadan 741/February–March 1341, presumably had gained control of his town. It seems almost certain that he came to his decision when he completed his work since there is no mention of a patron in the preface of the manuscript, as would be expected if Ibn Jārmī had begun to compile the manuscript under someone's aegis.

3. *The illustrated poems*

As previously mentioned, the only illustrations in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* are those in Chapter 29, which contains illustrated or pictorial poetry. The first poem (attributed to Rāvandī), the astrological poem, and the conclusive *rubā'i* (both composed by Ibn Jārmī's father) are fully illustrated and together constitute the entire chapter. A total of thirty-three small rectangular miniature paintings, set against red or sometimes blank-paper backgrounds, alternate on six folios with the text containing the verses of the three

poems (see cat. nos. 2–7). All six folios have been cut along the margins of the written area and pasted on new pages from a different manuscript. The dimensions at the margins are approximately $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches (18.9 × 12.5 centimeters), while the complete pages are now about $8\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches (22.5 × 16.9 centimeters). They have been repaired with paper patches over parts of the text and the illustrations. The present condition of the paintings is rather poor due to the extensive flaking of the pigment and to some cracks and tears in the paper. However, the paint has seldom bled through the paper, and there are no holes and consequently no loss of painted areas, with the exception of the page in Cambridge (cat. no. 2c) where the bottom of the illustration has been retouched, and the illustration of the parrot in the *rubā'i*, which has been repainted (cat. no. 7b). On the Princeton folio (cat. no. 4) part of the text is missing at the bottom, but the illustrations are intact. The range of colors on these pages is varied but bright colors are rarely present, apart from the vermilion that forms the majority of the backgrounds. Lapis lazuli blue is seldom seen. Gold is used extensively, sometimes also applied underneath watery, almost translucent greens, reds, and blues, thus providing an effect of lacquered or varnished colors. Black is also extensively used together with different hues of gray, green, and brown. Toned-down yellows, pinks, oranges, and blues are less common, and are employed especially to represent clothing.

The style of painting seen in Chapter 29 is not as straightforward nor as easy to define as that of the manuscript's frontispiece. Rāvandī's poem required the illustration of individual figures or objects in the order given in the second hemistich of each verse. An elaborate composition was not needed; the figures had only to be arranged in single rows, readable in proper sequence from right to left. We are therefore confronted with rows of human figures, quadrupeds, birds, weapons, trees, musical instruments, and other objects. Some of them have close parallels in contemporary illustrated manuscripts of both Īlkhānid and Īnjū'id production. The problem of identifying the objects illustrated with their Persian terms is partially

dealt with by Morton in his commentary on the text (see pages 59–65). The correspondence between terms and images in the *Mu'nis al-ahṡār* has already been examined by Richard Ettinghausen,⁴³ but we will single out and briefly discuss a number of objects illustrated in Rāvandī's poem.

Human figures appear only on the first folio of Chapter 29, that is, on the page in Cambridge (cat. no. 2a, c–d). They are depicted in the Mongol fashion, with round faces, beards, and dressed in decorative-patterned short-sleeved tunics over long-sleeved shirts. However, a man, a treasurer, a money changer, a jeweler, and Jupiter are all represented as turbaned figures in the Arab fashion, probably to distinguish them from the common folk and to acknowledge their social status. The figures' occupations are identified by their attributes (see cat. no. 2d): The treasurer holds a knotted bag, presumably containing money or precious stones;⁴⁴ the money changer has gold coins in his open hands; the jeweler holds a ring and a pearl. Jupiter's identification is somewhat more difficult because he is depicted as a man reading a book, an activity usually associated with the planet 'Uṡārid (Mercury, the Scribe). However, one of the roles associated with Jupiter is that of judge (*qadī*) and learned man, and this is probably what the painter had in mind when he portrayed this planet.⁴⁵ The other three planets shown in the same miniature as Jupiter, on the other hand, are easily recognizable (see cat. no. 2c): Venus appears as a female lute player, the Sun has an elaborate set of rays around his head, and the Moon holds a crescent. More peculiar is the figure of the *dīv*, or demon, represented as a man wearing only trousers and whose monstrous attribute is a pair of horns on his head (this last detail is retouched), and the *peri*, a winged angel or fairy creature whose body ends in a sort of floating ribbon or cloud and who belongs to an earlier Seljuk tradition (both cat. no. 2a); and the courier, a dark-skinned man in a running posture who wears a pointed cap, trousers under his tunic, and shoes instead of boots (cat. no. 2d).

A large number of birds are illustrated in Chapter 29: Thirteen accompany the first poem and twelve the

rubā'ī, a description of a beloved's appearance by means of birds' attributes. The birds are well delineated and can be correctly identified, with some exceptions. They all share the common feature of a gold roundel at the attachment of the wings, and the details of their plumage are outlined in black. The first illustration of Rāvandī's poem shows a human-headed bird, commonly called a harpy (cat. no. 2a); it is identified in the text as a *bahri*, a marine creature, although in the literature it is usually referred to as a *murgh-i ādamī* ("man-bird") or *zāghsār* (talking crow). Here it is represented as a bird of prey, thus supporting its connection with the hawk, as explained by Morton below (p. 59). The partridge and the hawk on the same folio in Cambridge (cat. no. 2f) are included in a verse describing three pairs of animals that are usually enemies, but that live together in peace under the just rule of Sulaymānshāh. The illustration shows all the animals in left profile with no obvious relation between the pairs: The two birds at the top left corner simply stand one behind the other and have almost the same dimensions; usually the predatory bird is much larger than its victim, and the latter is a pigeon or a duck rather than a partridge. As for the partridge, it is worth noting that it appears as many as three times in Chapter 29 (cat. nos. 2f, 4a, and 7b). Five birds are illustrated on the Cleveland page (cat. nos. 3f, 3h): a vulture, *simurgh* (phoenix), stork, raven, and kite. The vulture is difficult to identify since it looks like a large predatory bird with a short neck and a hooked beak. The kite, a small bird of prey with a gold beak and gold eyes, conversely, is clearly recognizable. The *simurgh*—which will be discussed further by Marie Swietochowski (pp. 71–72)—appears also in the final *rubā'ī*, and is represented as a multicolored crossbreed, part predatory bird and part rooster, with two long gold feathers issuing from its head near its eyes. This is one of the two ways in which this mythical bird, called a *'anqā* in Arabic (see Morton, p. 61), was depicted in the Īl-khānid period: It can be found, for example, in the so-called London Qazvīnī codex from the early fourteenth century, as well as in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.⁴⁶ The other depiction of the *simurgh* is derived from the

Chinese phoenix: This iconography prevails in Islamic art after the Īlkhānīd period and becomes the usual representation of this bird in the following centuries. Seven birds are included on the Princeton page (cat. nos. 4a–b), all more or less easily identifiable with the exception of the philomel—a poetic term for the nightingale—which is represented as a dark gray creature with pink legs. The image of the parrot is partially damaged, probably because corrosive verdigris was used for its green feathers, which is also the reason why the parrot on the Washington page (cat. no. 7b) was repainted at a later date. The twelve birds shown on this last page are arranged in two rows of six, and are all seen in left profile. Six of them appear for a second or a third time with only slight variations in color: the hawk, nightingale, partridge, peacock, parrot (repainted and no longer a parrot), and *simurgh*. The most noticeable mistake by the painter is the illustration of the francolin (*durrāj*), in actuality a brownish spotted bird of the partridge family, but here portrayed as a multicolored bird, perhaps more like a woodpecker or a kingfisher. In addition, the magpie is not shown as the usual black-and-white bird but rather resembles a large crow with pale gray wings, and the raven looks more like a blackbird since it has a long orange beak. The *humā* is another mythical creature (see p. 65) generally described as a bird of prey: Its unearthly feature here is its white plumage. The last two birds are more conventional: a large duck and an imposing eagle.

Conventional illustrations of eleven quadrupeds are also found along with Rāvandī's poem, and very few of these deserve special attention. Lion and onager and wolf and sheep—this last creature with a pale brown fleece—are illustrated on the Cambridge page (cat. no. 2f). On the page in Cleveland (cat. no. 3b) the ox is portrayed just above the fish, thus supporting the cosmic symbology explained on page 57. The illustration of the elephant on the verso of the same folio (cat. no. 3f) takes the usual form, showing the animal with a blanket and a bell around its neck; a rhinoceros or unicorn (*karkadann*) is depicted correctly as a small animal with a very long straight horn, but here it is also provided with wings.⁴⁷ The last paint-

ing on the same page (cat. no. 3h) is of an amusing-looking porcupine walking on surprisingly long legs; this animal is rarely illustrated other than in bestiaries and in Qazvīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*.

Arms and weapons appear often within the poem.⁴⁸ On the Cleveland and the Princeton pages (cat. nos. 3a, 4e), the images of the three-pronged weapons translated as "spear" and "dart" are differentiated only by the length of their shafts: The longer object was probably intended for combat on horseback, the shorter one as a sort of javelin to be thrown. The most puzzling weapon, called *nāchakh* in the text, is shown as a black object crooked at one end (cat. no. 4e; see also p. 61): The most likely explanation is that it is a type of club whose form possibly allows it to hit with more efficacy, or perhaps to catch the reins of galloping horses. A very similar weapon is illustrated in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.⁴⁹

The shield, the helmet, and the ox-headed mace (cat. nos. 4d–e) appear often in manuscripts almost contemporary with these illustrations: Similar shields made of cane are seen in the Īnjūʿid *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul and in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.⁵⁰ The helmet is provided with an aventail that protects the wearer's neck and shoulder by means of mail or scales; it occurs often in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, in illustrations of the same text in the Diez Album in Berlin, and also, without the peculiar "eyes" on its sides, in the Great Īlkhānīd *Shāhnāma*.⁵¹ The ox-headed mace, initially associated only with Farīdūn, one of the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*, soon became the standard type represented, as is evident from the Gutman and the St. Petersburg manuscripts.⁵² The acton (cat. no. 4d), called *qazāgand* in Persian (see Morton, p. 61), appears as a red coat padded with a gold-colored material. Since gold is often used to designate metal in these miniatures, its presence here might be evidence that coats of mail were actually sewn inside outer garments.⁵³

Five musical instruments are illustrated in the same painting on the Cleveland page (cat. no. 3d), and there is a drum on the page in Cambridge and one on the page in Cleveland (cat. nos. 2e, 3g).⁵⁴ The stringed instruments called *barbaṭ* and *rabāb*, translated as "lute" and "rebec," are similar in shape but

different in detail: The lute has a wooden soundboard, whereas the *rabāb*'s body is made of skin. This last instrument has two wooden "wings" protruding from the sides of its neck. The *nāyy*, in the original Arabic a straight flute or reed pipe without a mouthpiece, is illustrated here, according to its meaning in Persian, as a generic wind instrument; as a matter of fact, it resembles a *mizmār*, a single-pipe woodwind instrument similar to the Western oboe or shawm. The tambourine's metal rim and its jingles are indicated in gold, while the skin on its head is painted white, as in the case of the two drums. The harp, of typical Eastern shape, bears an elaborate wooden support.

Nine trees are illustrated, four in catalogue number 3 e and five in number 4 f. What is striking is the different approach of the painter to the general layouts of the two miniatures and to the shapes of the trees: In the Cleveland painting, the four trees (rosebush, box-tree, cypress, and elm) are depicted as compact, bush-like plants, pointed ovals in shape; they have very short trunks, and are set at the same distance from each other. By contrast, the five fruit-bearing trees on the page in Princeton have curving trunks, their branches and leaves are freely drawn, and although they are all on the same line, the impression is

one of great movement, as if they were shaken by the wind, thus making this painting the most lively of all those illustrating Rāvandī's poem.

Finally, a number of simple objects figure in these illustrations. A standard is represented twice (cat. nos. 2 b, 2 e) as a flag whose banner splits into two parts, in one case displaying a heraldic pattern on its field (2 b); similar standards are present in the *Shāhnāma* of 1330–31 in Istanbul (fig. 12).⁵⁵ The throne in catalogue number 2 b is the typical Īlhānīd decorated wood royal seat consisting of three parts; here, its finials end in scrolls. Of special interest are the illustrations of a tent and a pavilion (cat. no. 2 e; see also p. 60). The slender footed goblet seen in catalogue number 3 g, while similar to that held by the prince in the frontispiece (cat. no. 1), is evidently made of metal and not glass, as is more commonly the case. In the same illustration there are also a large-bellied metal basin with a protruding rim almost in the shape of a spittoon and a candlestick.

Among the objects there are also jewels, coins, and precious stones. Since very few actual jewels from this period have survived, the signet ring (cat. no. 2 b), earring, armlet, collar, and belt (cat. no. 4 c) might provide some idea of their true shapes and details.



Figure 12. The Armies of Iran and Turan Drawn up for Battle. Illustration from a leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript, folio 1 r. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period, A.H. Šafar 730/A.D. November 1330. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H. 1479

Pearls, rubies, and gold and silver coins are all included in the painting in catalogue number 3c as small groups of colored pebbles embedded in the soil, according to the iconography set forth in treatises on mineralogy.⁵⁶ The painter also attempted to show silver coins with inscriptions similar to those actually minted in the Īlkhānīd period (see pp. 31, 61).

The second poem, attributed to Ibn Jārmī's father, is interesting because it illustrates the twelve signs of the zodiac—one of the earliest extant examples on paper—yet it presents only a few unconventional features worthy of notice. In all illustrations, the Moon is traditionally represented as a woman wearing a crown and holding in her hands a crescent (the moon itself) that frames her head, and Gemini, the Twins, is illustrated by the peculiar but rather conventional image of two youths whose reptile-like tails are intertwined and who hold a stick topped with a head (cat. no. 5c).⁵⁷ That a man is depicted holding the scale of the sign of Libra (cat. no. 6b) is unusual, since this sign of the zodiac is under the influence of the planet Venus, which is always a woman who is usually playing a musical instrument.⁵⁸ The scorpion (cat. no. 6c) clutches in its claws a face painted gold possibly to represent the Sun: This is also not in accordance with the established tradition of Mars as the planet of Scorpio. The manner of painting bricks in shades of a color ranging from a pale to a darker hue, as in the illustration of Aquarius (cat. no. 6f), is not common in Īlkhānīd painting, but will become popular at the end of the fourteenth century, under the Jalāyirids. However, shaded bricks do appear in miniatures in the Diez Album, which is contemporary with the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.⁵⁹

4. Conclusion

The frontispiece of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* provides the best clues for determining the provenance of the manuscript on artistic and stylistic grounds. The only recognized school of painters between about 1330 and 1350 is the atelier that produced the illustrated codices for the Īnjū'ids in Shiraz. The only other manuscript on which there is general agreement regarding date and provenance is the Great Īlkhānīd *Shāhnāma*: It was

probably produced in Tabriz for the last Īlkhānīd ruler, Abū Sa'īd, or his vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, before their deaths in 1335–36. The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is very far from the monumental artistic achievement of the Great Īlkhānīd *Shāhnāma*. While it was produced after the collapse of this dynasty, and reveals a knowledge of Īnjū'id painting in the petaled border of its frontispiece, in its palette, and in a number of details, the overall style of the paintings is certainly closer to the tradition of earlier Īlkhānīd manuscripts than to the contemporary Īnjū'id style. The manuscript is dated 1341 and shows internal evidence that Ibn Jārmī, its author, composed and transcribed it in his native town, Isfahan. As Morton points out below, the manuscript includes personal thoughts about the town and the actual political situation at the time.

There is no reason to assume that the six illustrated folios of Chapter 29 and the frontispiece of the manuscript were not completed in Isfahan as was the rest of the codex. The only open question in my mind remains whether the painter was Ibn Jārmī himself or whether he called upon a friend and trained artist to help him illustrate his book. This is the first time that an Īlkhānīd manuscript is assigned to Isfahan with enough evidence to support the attribution. It is based on the evidence of Ibn Jārmī's own words. It is also important to stress that, in addition, the style of painting in the manuscript supports such an attribution. Isfahan, for confused political reasons, was in those years in close touch with the Īnjū'id dynasty but it was closer than Shiraz to the sphere of influence of the Īlkhānīds, who were on their way to extinction. Consequently, an illustrated manuscript produced in this town would betray both Īnjū'id and traditional Īlkhānīd styles—which is certainly true of the paintings in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*.

Finally, Chapter 29 and its theme of illustrated poetry is of great importance as the earliest surviving example of this poetic artifice, but it is also invaluable testimony that, as Morton explains (pp. 54–55), the same poem had already been illustrated in the second half of the twelfth century, when Rāvandī was alive and enjoying Seljuk patronage. In addition, we also

know from the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* of another illustrated manuscript portraying poets, from the time of the sultan Ṭughril in 1184–85.⁶⁰ Because nothing from that period has survived, the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is even more precious to scholars of Persian book illustration. Perhaps, in the near future, with the help of other codices like the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, we will be able to close the large gap in what is known of the production of illustrated manuscripts in Iran between the time of the prophet/painter Mani (3rd century A.D.) and the early Islamic period. While it is quite possible that this tradition never died out completely, it is worth noting that, in Islamic Persia, Mani was still regarded in the literature as the originator of Persian painting.⁶¹

1. Marteau and Vever, 1913, pl. XLIX, fig. 55; *Kevorkian Collection*, 1914, nos. 68, 264.

2. According to Qazwīn[ī] (1928–30), six other nonillustrated chapters out of the original thirty were missing when he studied the manuscript in the 1920s. Presently, however, it would seem from the extant cartouches containing the titles that the only surviving chapters are 1 through 8, 28 (placed incorrectly between 6 and 7), and 13, 14, and 23.

3. The recto of this folio, showing the title of Chapter 29, is published in Marteau and Vever, 1913, pl. XLIX, fig. 55.

4. The recto of the folio is published in color in Gray, 1961, pl. p. 60. A detail appears in *Islamic Art*, I (1981), fig. 272, and a detail of the verso is in Ettinghausen, 1950, pl. 8.

5. Both sides are illustrated in Grube, 1962, pp. 41–42, no.

31. The folio is described and discussed in Moghadam and Armajani, 1939, no. 198, and in Ettinghausen (1940), p. 121.

6. The recto of 19.68.1 seems to be unpublished; its verso is illustrated in *SPA*, vol. V, pt. 2, pl. 818, and briefly discussed by Kühnel (1939), pp. 1831–32; it is also published in Dimand (1928–29), p. 208, fig. 2, and Dimand, 1930, p. 25, fig. 5. Both sides of the second folio (57.51.25) are published in Grube, 1962, pp. 40–41, no. 40, and briefly discussed in Ackerman, 1940, p. 240. The recto is also illustrated in Schulz, 1914, vol. I, pl. M, and Gray, 1961, colorpl. p. 61; the verso is published in *MMA*, 1987, pl. p. 128.

7. The illustrated recto of this folio is unpublished. The verso contains the beginning of the following chapter, 30.

8. April 23, 1979, lot no. 144.

9. I am grateful to Marcus Fraser, Toby Falk, Husayn Afshar, and Katie Marsh, who helped the present

authors in locating the current whereabouts of the manuscript. The codex has a modern binding and was recently restored. The dimensions of its pages are 27.5 × 18.5 cm., while the text is framed by one blue and two red lines inside a square measuring 19.7 × 12.8 cm.

10. See p. 54.

11. The only exception is Baer, 1965, p. 33, n. 20.

12. Marteau and Vever, 1913, no. 55; Ackerman, 1940, p. 194.

13. Ettinghausen (1940), p. 121.

14. Dimand (1928–29), p. 208, and Dimand, 1930, p. 26.

15. See Gray, 1961, p. 62, where the manuscript is compared to a kind of Larousse dictionary.

16. Grube, 1962, p. 39.

17. Gray, 1961, p. 62.

18. Gray, 1961, p. 62, believes that the so-called Small *Shāhnāma* may have been produced in Isfahan. See also Marie Lukens Swietochowski's essay, pp. 67–81.

19. Grube, 1962, p. 40.

20. Grube (1963), n. p. 295.

21. Grube, 1978, pp. 16–17.

22. S. C. Welch, 1972, no. 51, n. 1; *MMA*, 1987, pp. 128–29.

23. Robinson, 1953, p. 13, no. IX (1032).

24. Sotheby's, 1979, colorpl. p. 85.

25. The very same shirt sleeves are depicted in a miniature from a *Shāhnāma* dated 1333 in St. Petersburg (fol. 307 r). See Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, colorpl. 45.

26. Suppl. pers. 205. See Ettinghausen (1959), fig. 1.

27. See, for example, Gray, 1978, pl. 22.

28. Grabar and Blair, 1980, nos. 13, 22.

29. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 2153, fol. 68 r illustrated in color in Grube, Çağman, and Akalay, 1978, pl. 8; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 50, illustrated in color in Ipşiroğlu, 1964, pl. X, fig. 14.

30. The so-called Gutman *Shāhnāma*, presently in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1974.290.1–43), is discussed by Swietochowski in her essay in this book. See, for example, 1974.290.2, 7, 23, 24; cat. nos. 8, 13, 29, 30. The other miniatures are in the Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 42; see Ipşiroğlu, 1964, plates I–II.

31. The limited number of illustrated manuscripts produced in Shiraz in this period has never been thoroughly studied as a group. For references and a list of the manuscripts see Grube, 1978, pp. 15–16. The only monographic work on one of these codices now in St. Petersburg is Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985.

32. State Public Library, ex-Dorn 329. See Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, colorplates 1–2.

33. Or. 13506. See Waley and Titley (1975), fig. 3.

34. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. A.F. 10; illustrated in color in Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 91.

35. This rosette is unpublished. It is compared by Robinson, 1953, p. 13, to one in the portion of the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* in Edinburgh (see Talbot Rice, 1976, figs. 36–37). Robinson, 1953, also states that it "is quite different from that found

- on the Injū manuscripts of Shīrāz at this time." In the 1979 Sotheby's catalogue, the rosette is instead compared to the one on the first folio of the *Manāfi' al-hayavān* from the last decade of the thirteenth century, now in The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Ms. 500; see *SPA*, vol. V, pt. 2, pl. 946 A). There is no doubt that this type of rosette is much closer to the one in the New York codex rather than to that in the Edinburgh manuscript, and that this kind of petaled border is similar to those in Injū'id frontispieces.
36. The first *Shāhnāma* is in the Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479; its title page is published in Waley and Titley (1975), fig. 2. For the other two manuscripts see notes 32, 33, above.
 37. See Lowry and Beach, 1988, no. 76.
 38. See note 35, above.
 39. The dedication, written in black ink on a gold background, has almost completely faded. Attempts to read it by means of ultraviolet light and a microscope have proven unsuccessful.
 40. There is not sufficient space here to deal with the fascinating problem of the significance of frontispieces in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Islamic painting. To my knowledge, this would be the first time that a posthumous dedication has been suggested.
 41. The following historical information is taken principally from Zambaur, 1927, nos. 240–241, Lambton *EL2*, vol. 4, 1978, and *CHI*, vol. 6, pp. 12–13, but see Morton, pp. 50–51, for a more detailed account.
 42. I am grateful to Alexander Morton for pointing out that their marriage, through complex facts that are here omitted, was arranged by Shaykh Ḥasan Jalāyir, who, from Baghdad, was trying to control northwestern and southern Iran against the Chūbānids. It is also likely, although unproven, that the couple was married in 742/1342, after Ibn Jārmī finished his manuscript. My initial opinion that the couple portrayed in the frontispiece might represent Mas'ūd and Sulṭān Bakht, as a symbol of unity between Chūbānids and Injū'ids, must therefore be dismissed.
 43. Ettinghausen (1940), p. 121.
 44. The bag is white, so it is probably made of cloth. Cloth bags containing coins appear in one illustration from the Great Ilkhānid *Shāhnāma*, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (no. 42.2), where Nūshīrvān rewards the young Būzurjmihr with plenty of money. See Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 55.
 45. For the activities related to the planets see Baer (1968) and Carboni, 1988, pp. 34–35, pl. 13.
 46. The London Qazvinī is an incomplete illustrated copy of the *‘Ajā'ib al-makblūqāt*, now in the British Library (Or. 14140). See Carboni (1988–89), fig. 3, pl. VII B (fols. 39 r, 122 v). For the Gutman manuscript see cat. nos. 8–48.
 47. A full discussion of the iconography of the unicorn is given in Ettinghausen, 1950, where a detail of this illustration also appears as plate 8. For an updated bibliography and more information see Contadini (1992).
 48. I am grateful to Stuart Pyhrr of the Department of Arms and Armor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for his help in this matter.
 49. See Morton's discussion of this weapon (p. 61). The page in question is 1974.290.6; see Swietochowski's entry, cat. no. 12.
 50. See, for example, folio 54 v of the Istanbul manuscript, Hazine 1479, illustrated in color in Rogers, 1986, no. 34, and no. 1974.290.11 of the Gutman *Shāhnāma* (cat. no. 18).
 51. Gutman *Shāhnāma*, 1974.290.5, 8, 12 (cat. nos. 11, 14, and 19); Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 42 (see Ipşiroğlu, 1964, pl. I, above); the page of the Great Ilkhānid manuscript in the Detroit Institute of Arts (no. 35.54; see Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 41). The prototype of this style of helmet, with two "eyes" cut at the brim, dates to the Sasanian period, and was used up until the Timurid period in the fifteenth century. In the illustration in the *Mu'nis al-abrār*, it is transformed into an "Ilkhānid" helmet as a result of the turned-up brim.
 52. Gutman *Shāhnāma*, 1974.290.13, 14 (cat. nos. 20, 21); for the St. Petersburg manuscript see Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, nos. 3, 6, 14, 28.
 53. See the study by Melikian-Chirvani (1983), esp. pp. 8–15.
 54. I am grateful to Ken Moore of the Department of Musical Instruments at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for his help in this matter.
 55. Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479. See, for example, the illustration on folio 68 v, published in Rogers, 1986, no. 36.
 56. There are no surviving early illustrated treatises on mineralogy, however later illustrated sections of the *‘Ajā'ib al-makblūqāt* reveal the same iconography.
 57. See Hartner (1973), p. 114, and, for a different point of view, Gettings (1989), pp. 11, 15.
 58. See Baer, 1965, p. 75.
 59. Diez Album, Fol. 71, SS. 29, 30, 42, published in Ipşiroğlu, 1964, plates II, 3–4, I, 1, above, respectively. On page 68 ff. Swietochowski establishes that some illustrations of the *Shāhnāma* in the Diez Album are contemporary with those in the Gutman manuscript, which she dates about 1330–35.
 60. See p. 55; see also Blair (1993), p. 266, n. 7.
 61. See Arnold, 1924; Klimkeit, 1982, esp. pp. 3, 15–16.



Double frontispiece from the Mu'nis al-ahrār manuscript

Isfahan, A.H. Ramadan 741/A.D. February–March 1341

Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, Ministry of

Information, LNS 9 MS, folios 1v–2r





2 a-c (recto)

2 a–f

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler
Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Gift of
Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, 1960.186

الباب التاسع والعشرون في ذكر اشعار المصور واختيارات قر .
استاد محمد الراوندی فرماید رحمة الله عليه .

Chapter Twenty-nine on Illustrated Poetry and the
Lunar Elections. Composed by the Master Muḥammad
al-Rāvandī, May God Have Mercy on Him.

a.

پیش سلطانند در فرمان بری
آدمی و بحری و دیو و پری

Before the sultan stand in obedience:
Human and harpy, demon and fairy.

A bearded man, sitting cross-legged with both hands on his knees, is dressed in a long blue tunic decorated with tiny gold clouds. A loose end of his turban floats in mid-air. In front of him is a multicolored harpy, in the form of a fantastic bird of prey, with a crowned human head. A second pair of figures also face each other. The demon, whose fantastic attribute is a pair of gold horns, wears green trousers and gold bracelets and anklets; his bare torso reveals his purplish skin. This figure has been retouched. The winged creature facing the demon, now damaged, wears a long green tunic ornamented with a gold pattern, a crown, and a knotted belt. In place of his legs is a sort of floating purple cloud. His green-and-gold wings terminate in long blue feathers.

b.

خسرو عادل سلیمانسه که یافت
تاج و تخت و رایت و انگشتری.

Before the just monarch Sulaymānshāh who owns:
Crown and throne, standard and signet.

The gold crown has a small pointed finial in the center; its details are outlined in black. The back of the composite wooden throne is decorated with gold flowers on a brown background and its green top ends in gold scrolls; the two sides are blue edged with white. Under the yellow cloth covering the front the ends of a dark red pillow are visible.

The purple standard, which has lost much of its pigment, has an extremely thin shaft; its banner, which contains a heraldic emblem in the middle probably intended to represent a bird, has a double tail. The gold signet ring is set with a green-and-gold stone.

c.

مطرب و طبایخ و نعل و کاتبش
زهره و خورشید و ماه و مشتری.

His minstrel and cook, horseshoe and scribe are:
Venus, the Sun, the Moon, and Jupiter.

The four planets are represented according to their traditional iconography: Venus is a female lute player (her lute is similar to the one in the Cleveland painting, cat. no. 3). The Sun, shown frontally, is a bearded man with a pale complexion, whose face is surrounded by an elaborate pattern of rays. The image of the Moon is the same as described in catalogue numbers 5 and 6. Jupiter is somewhat unusual because, at first sight, he might be mistaken for Mercury, the scribe: He is represented as a man seen in profile holding a book and pointing to what he is reading.

The lower part of this illustration has been repainted.

d.

باد و خاک و آب و آتش بر درش
خازن و صراف و پیک و جوهری.

At his court wind, earth, water, and fire are:
Treasurer, changer, courier, jeweler.

All four men are seen in left profile but not in pairs, as are the figures in catalogue number 2 a. However, the treasurer is dressed the same as the human figure there; he holds a knotted white money bag made of cloth. The money changer, also turbaned and wearing a simple green tunic, holds gold coins in his outstretched hands. The courier, in running posture, looks like a puppet; he wears a long-sleeved green tunic with gold decoration on the chest and fastened with a gold belt, yellow trousers striped in red, a pointed hat, and slippers with flaps behind. The jeweler, dressed like the treasurer, holds a ring in his right hand and what seems to be a white pearl in his left.

e.

باد فراش آسمانش تا زند
بارگاه و خرگاه و کوس و علم.

Heaven be his servitor so long as he sets up:
Tent and pavilion, drum and banner.

The tent is supported by a red pole that has a gold section in the middle and terminates in a pointed gold finial. The interior of the tent is pale purple, while the exterior is painted to suggest white felt with pale blue bands at the bottom. Much of the pigment is missing, but the drawings in blue of flowers and, possibly, birds that decorate the exterior of the tent are intact. The pavilion is a domed red wooden trellis with a white cloth interior.

The drum has a gold metal frame, and rests on a tapering foot. The banner has the same shape as that in catalogue number 2 b, but the central roundel has no coat of arms.

f.

در پناه عدل او با هم برآز
شیر و گور و گرگ و میش و کبک و باز.

Secluded together in the refuge of his justice are:
Lion and onager, wolf and sheep, partridge and hawk.

The four animals and the two birds, seen in profile, form a rather cramped composition and are not illustrated in pairs as the verse would suggest. The lion, seated on its hind legs, is yellow, and is similar to the one in the frontispiece. The onager, partially obscured by the lion, is pale purple and spotted with black in places; the black stripes on its back are reminiscent of those on Capricorn in catalogue number 6 e. The wolf is pale grayish blue, with black spots, and has a long furry tail. The pale brown sheep is in an unusual crouching position, its body close to the ground: Its outstretched neck and open mouth make it look as though it were in pain, but the wolf is not actually attacking it. The partridge—in this case the victim is represented before its attacker—has a gray chest with black stripes and black lines indicating its feathers; it resembles the partridge in catalogue numbers 4 a and 7 b. The hawk is pale purple with black outlines for the feathers; its head is damaged and part of its face is missing because the page has been trimmed at the margin.

در کف غلمان و احبابش بهم
نیزه و شمشیر و زوبین و قلم.

In the hands of his slaves and of his friends are:
Spear and sword, javelin and pen.



2 d-f (verso)



3 a-d (recto)

3 a–h

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the
J. H. Wade Fund and Gift of H. Kevorkian, 45.385

a. (see text on the previous page)

The weapons are basically made of metal, so gold is used to represent them. The three-pronged spear is very similar to the dart mentioned later in the poem (see cat. no. 4 e). The sword is straight, and its black sheath is decorated with gold bands. The *qalam*, a conventional reed pen, is rather oversized when compared with the arms.

b.

جمله بریانی بخوانش بر مدام
گاو و ماهی، اشتر و اسب و غنم.

Ever all roasted at his table are:

Ox and fish, camel and horse and sheep.

The five animals, all seen in left profile, form a rather crowded picture. The conventional hunchbacked ox, its black hide decorated with white patches, is portrayed just above the fish. The brown dromedary is seated, its head slightly overlapping the hindquarters of the gray horse standing with its left foreleg and its head bent in an elegant posture. The sheep is drawn in a less careful manner and its fleece is unconventionally painted pale brown like that of the sheep in catalogue number 2 f.

c.

بجر و کان کرده نثار حضرتش
لؤلؤ و یاقوت و دینار و درم.

Ocean and mine have showered on his presence:
Pearl and ruby, coined gold and silver.

The precious metals and coins are arranged in four groups on the unpainted background filled with plants and tufts of grass. The group on the far left contains minted silver coins or dirhems whose Arabic inscriptions are visible. One of them reads: *lā ilāh illā Allāh* ("There is no God but God").

d.

مطربان در بزمگاه او بکف
بربط و چنگ و ریاب و نای و دف.

The minstrels at his banquet bear in their hands:
Lute and harp, rebec, pipe, and tambourine.

The painting is partially damaged on the right side, so that the edge of the lute's head is missing. The instruments are carefully represented: the body of the lute is decorated with horizontal bands of what is meant to be a paler color wood, the harp's wooden support is elegantly carved, and the *rabāb* has an elaborate curved pegbox. The pipe and tambourine are more plainly illustrated: the former is a dark, almost black, wood, and the latter has a gold metal frame.

e.

کرده در بستان عیش او وطن
گلبن و شمشاد و سرو و نارون.

Making the garden of his pleasure their homeland are:
Rosebush and box-tree, cypress and elm.

The four trees are evenly spaced, their short trunks rising from the line that marks the bottom of the illustration. The foliage of each tree is represented as an oval-shaped, pointed bush varying in width and height; the cypress and the elm extend above the upper margin of the painting. The rosebush bears pale purple flowers, the box-tree has large leaves, and the cypress and the elm have similar tiny foliage. Between the trees, on the blank paper background, some tall flowering plants are illustrated.

f.

صید باز و صید یوز او شده
کرگس و سیمرغ و پیل و کرگدن.

Prey to his hawk and prey to his cheetah are:
Vulture and *simurgh*, elephant and rhinoceros.

Four birds and animals are shown in left profile. The vulture, not easily identifiable, is represented as a large, dark brown predatory bird; its tail extends out beyond the right margin so that part of it is cut off. The *simurgh* is a multicolored crossbreed between a rooster and a bird of prey: It was commonly represented as it is here in the first half of the fourteenth century. A very large elephant with pale purple skin dominates the picture; it has a large yellow blanket on its back, a bell around its neck, and jingles around its head. The rhinoceros, or unicorn, is pictured as a small quadruped similar to a dog, with gold wings and a very long straight horn extending vertically from its head.

g.

مهر و ماه و زهره و تیرش مدام
طبل باز و ساغر و طشت و لگن.

Sun and Moon, Venus and Mercury are at his feast:
Falcon-drum and goblet, bowl and candlestick.

The falcon-drum is a large drum that rests on a splayed foot; its name is written on the white skin of its head. The goblet, conical in shape, has a small round foot; it is painted white with black crisscross decoration, suggesting that it is made of silver. The body of the bowl is broad and squat; with its splayed rim, it resembles a spittoon. The bowl is painted in gold. The candlestick is also rather squat but its body tapers slightly toward the neck; it has a wide, flat top with a socket in the middle in which there is a candle that extends well above the upper margin of the painting.

h.

بر تن بدخواه او چیره شده
خاریشت و لقلق و زاغ و زغن.

Overwhelming the corpses of his foes are:
Porcupine and stork, raven and kite.

The porcupine is amusingly represented as a mouse-like animal walking on long thin legs; its high, curving back is appropriately provided with quills. The stork is a whitish bird with very long legs and an elongated, curving neck; its open beak is also very long. The raven is depicted as a black bird whose tail feathers are spread, however, its orange beak makes it look more like a blackbird. The kite, on the other hand, is accurately portrayed as a brown bird of prey with a whitish spotted belly.



3 e-h (verso)



4 a-c (recto)

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

Princeton University Libraries, Department of Rare
Books and Special Collections, Manuscripts Division,
Robert Garrett Collection, 94 G

a.

رودها در بوستانش ساخته
بلبل و قری و کبک و فاخته.

Making melody in his garden are:
Nightingale and turtle, partridge and ringdove.

The smallest of the four birds is the pale gray nightingale on the right. The turtledove is not only larger and fatter but has a darker gray chest. The partridge, the largest bird, is rather colorful; it is pale violet with red eyes, and has a striped chest. The ringdove is a plump brownish-gray bird with a black collar.

b.

باد در باغ مرادش جلوه گر
غندلیب و طوطی و طاوس زر.

May there be seen in the orchard of his desire:
Philomel, parrot, and peacock.

The philomel, a poetic term for the nightingale, appears here as a dark gray bird with pink legs—which does not seem to be accurate. Both parrot and peacock, on the other hand, are easily identified: The former, although now partially damaged, is a pale green bird with an orange beak and legs, perched on a “mushroom-like” bluish rock; the peacock is multi-colored and well drawn, with a dark red breast, orange thighs and gray legs, yellow and pink wings decorated with a greenish and gold “eye” pattern, and a blue head and neck.

c.

کرده از نعل سمندهش خسروان
گوشوار و یاره و طوق و کر.

From the shoes of his charger kings have made:
Earring and armlet, collar and belt.

The four jewels are all painted in gold with black outlines. The earring is round and suspended from it are three short pendants each composed of three gold beads. The armlet is an open bracelet whose ends are in the form of lions’ heads. The collar contains a scale pattern and two loops. The belt is decorated with the same pattern and with two stylized flowers.

پاره پاره بر تن بدخواه او
جوشن و خود و قزاکند و سپر.

In tatters on the bodies of his foes are:
Corselet and helmet, acton and shield.¹

1. The page is damaged and the original text is now missing. This verse is taken from the collation of the text, by Morton; see verse 18 on page 59.

d. (see text on the previous page)

The weapons are placed against a blank background filled with pale indigo tufts of grass, painted without outlines. The corselet is a pale green garment with stripes of a darker green and gold. The helmet, with an aventail to protect the neck, is peculiar: It is pale blue, probably to represent the metallic shine, has a long finial, and is decorated on the sides with two "eyes"; the aventail has only two slits to allow the soldier to see in front of him. The acton is red with gold lining and padding. The shield is identifiable as made of cane: It is yellow, with a radiating pattern of black lines, and has a central gold boss; the rattan pattern is clearly indicated.

e.

کارگر بر پیکر خصمان او
گرز و خشت و نایج و تیر و تبر.

Piercing the frames of his enemies are:

Mace and dart, *nāchakh*, arrow, and ax.

The mace, the dart, and the ax are painted in gold. The mace is ox headed, the three-pronged dart is very similar to the spear in catalogue number 3a, and the blade of the ax has an elegant multilobed shape. More peculiar is the *nāchakh*, a type of club or mace painted in black whose head ends in a crook.

f.

بارور در صد هزارش شهر و ده
سیب و نارنج و ترنج و نار و به.

In a hundred thousand towns and villages bear fruit for him:

Apple and orange, citron, grenade, and quince.

The five fruit-bearing trees are sufficiently well differentiated by the painter and are represented in a lively manner. Their trunks are of different shades of brown except for the grenade, or pomegranate, whose curved trunk is green. The leaves are all green pointed ovals with darker green outlines, but they are arranged differently on the branches. The apple tree bears golden fruit edged in green, the oranges and pomegranates are red, the lemons gold, and the quince has yellow fruit bordered in red.

اختیارات قر از گفتار ملک الشعرا مولانا بدر الدین جاجرمی رحمه الله علیه.

The Lunar elections [according to the "King of Poets" (our Lord) Badr al-Dīn Jājārmī]; may God have mercy upon him.¹

1. The page is damaged and the text is partially missing.

It is completed here according to the edition of the text cited in the Bibliography as *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, 1958 and 1971.



4 d-f (verso)

کریمی خواجه کا دانی روش ای عالی کر
شمس مای می زنج می روز اول بدان
گرمه ده رفه باشد ده دگر بروی زای
کوش داران نگه رامی بخ راوچی بگو
مه بود در سنبله کر است از انجلیاب
در میان برجی باشد شمس می از حجاب

کز بروج اندر که امین برج می باشد قدر
خ المثل کرانند باشد در جلال از ماه خور
چون مضاعف شد برافزا انکلی می بخ دگر
ابتدا از ان برج کن کاخاست شمس نا مور
این مثالی را که آوردیم تو نیکو کن نظر
در بدانی دگر دانند که در مختصر

ایضا

مه در جلال اردست دهد و در بوش
برهیز کن از نکاح و دار و خور دن

در فصل و شکار و شاد ده بکوش
با اهل سلاح جاوشادی می بوش



ماه اندر نور شد دان انباری
بنکو ایستاد و بست عهد

دیدار زان نکل بود کاغذی
تروخ کن و میبھانی سازیت



5 a-b (recto)

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers

Fund, 1919 (19.68.1)

گر همی خواهی که دانی روشن، ای عالی گهر،
 کز بروج اندر کدامین برج می باشد قمر،
 شمس هر ماهی بر جی می رود، اول بدان.
 فی المثل گر زانکه باشد در حمل از ماه خور،
 گر ز مه ده رفته باشد ده دگر بروی فزای.
 چون مضاعف شد، بر افزا آنکه پنج دگر.
 گوش دار این نکته را: هر پنج را برجی بگیر.
 ابتدا ز آن برج کن کافجاست شمس نامور.
 مه بود در سنبله گر راست آید آن حساب.
 این مثالی را که آوردم تو نیکو کن نظر.
 در هر آن برجی که باشد شمس میکن این حساب،
 ورنه دانی، دیگران دانند. کردم مختصر.

O lofty in origin, if you wish to know clearly

In which of the signs of the zodiac the Moon is,
 Know first that every month the Sun enters a new sign.

For instance, if the Sun should be in the month
 of Aries,

And if the Moon is ten days old, add ten more to that.

When the doubling has been done, then add five more.

Listen well to this point: allow one sign for each five.

Begin from the sign in which the illustrious Sun is:

The Moon is in Virgo, if the calculation is done right.

Look well at this example I have given;

In whichever sign the Sun is, make this calculation,

And if you do not understand, others do. I
 make it brief.

a.

مه در حمل ار دست دهد، نو در پوش
 در فصد و شکار و شادی و حرب بکوش.
 برهیز کن از نکاح و دارو خوردن.
 با اهل سلاح جام شادی مینوش.

If the Moon should be in Aries, put on new clothes,
 Exert yourself in being bled, hunting, enjoyment,
 and war.

Refrain from marriage and taking medicine.

Drink the cup of joy with military men.

The Moon is represented here and in the following illustrations as a woman wearing a crown and holding in her hands a crescent that frames her head. She wears a half-sleeved tunic decorated with gold flowers on a dark background (here and in four other examples); in some of the illustrations the tunic is a monochromatic shade of dark orange, olive green, or blue with the folds indicated in white. She always has two long braids. Her skin is usually pink, but often the color is deepened and she is represented as a dark-skinned woman. Aries, the Ram—an animal with beige fur and a whitish belly—sits on a “mushroom-like” rock like the one in catalogue number 4 b. The ram’s open mouth suggests that it is bleating in the direction of the “planet” Moon, just in front of it.

b.

ماه اندر ثور، نیک دان انبازی.
 دیدار زنان، نیک بود کاغازی.
 نیکو آید عمارت و بستن عهد،
 تزویج کنی و میهمانی سازی.

With the Moon in Taurus, know that companionship
 is good.

It is good for you to start seeing women.

Construction goes well, and the making of compacts,
 Making marriages, and entertainments for guests.

This is the only illustration of the poem where the figure of the Moon is on the left of the sign of the zodiac. Taurus, the Bull, is depicted as the usual black and white-spotted hunchbacked animal. Its thin tail is looped. The bull’s hind leg extends partly beyond the margin of the illustration.

c.

مه در جوزا، شرکت و تزویج و سفر
نیکوست، اگر کنی تو، ای کان گهر.
جامه بر و از اهل قلم حاجت خواه
دارو بخور و همی کن از فصد حذر.

With the Moon in Gemini, partnerships, making
marriages and journeys

Are good, if you do them, O you mine of jewels.
Have clothing cut, make your requests from men
of the pen.

Do not take medicine and be sure to shun
bleeding.

Gemini, the Twins, appears as two youths whose
reptile-like tails are joined; they hold a stick on top
of which is a head. They wear identical green tunics
decorated with gold flowers on the chest and knotted
gold belts.

d.

مه در سرطان، جامه بریدن شاید
ور داروی مسهل بخوری نفع آید.
جوهر خر و در آب سفر کن که نکوست
بفرست رسول هر کجا کت باید.

With the Moon in Cancer, it is proper to have
clothes cut,

And if you take purgatives they will work
excellently.

Buy jewels, travel on water, for that is good.

Send messengers wherever you need to.

Cancer, the Crab, is a round, scaly, pale violet creature
with white and darker violet highlights. The crab
holds in its claws the circular head of its "planet," the
Moon.

e.

مه در اسد است، کار آتش نیکو.
در نزد ملوک حاجت خویش بجو.
بنیاد نه و فصد کن و عهد ببند.
وز دوختن و پوشش نو شو یکسو.

The Moon is in Leo. Work with fire is good.

Make your requests in the presence of kings.

Lay foundations, be bled, and make compacts

And avoid sewing and wearing new clothes.

Leo, the Lion, a pale beige animal, turns its back to
the Moon. It is well delineated, with long legs, and its
fur is indicated with fine black strokes and white
highlights. Its eyebrows and the insides of its ears are
white as well, as is its peculiar bearded chin. The tail
is decorated with an unusual "eye" pattern drawn with
black strokes, exactly like that of the lion depicted in
the frontispiece (cat. no. 1).



5 c-e (verso)



6 a-c (recto)

6 a–f

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956 (57.51.25)

a.

در سنبله مه، نکوست خط و تعلیم
دیدار دیران و حساب تنجیم.
فصد و سفر و بنا نهادن نیکوست.
«ترویج کن و بپوش نو.» گفت حکیم.

With the Moon in Virgo, writing and teaching are good,

Seeing scribes and astrological calculations.

Bleeding and travel and building are good.

“Make marriages, wear new clothes,” the wise man said.

Virgo in Arabic is *sunbula*, which means ear of grain. This is why, in Islamic iconography, the sign is usually represented as a farmer with a sickle, in the act of cutting down ears of corn. Here, the man is dark skinned and wears trousers instead of a tunic.

c.

مه در عقرب، نکوست دارو خوردن.
با دشمن خویش جنگ و دستان کردن.
خانه بنشین، سفر مکن، جامه مپوش.
نیکو باشد درخت نو بنشانیدن.

With the Moon in Scorpio, taking medicine is good,

To make war and use wiles against one's enemies.

Stay at home. Do not travel. Do not put on new clothes.

It is good to plant new trees.

The brown scorpion has a long tail ending in a curved sting. Like the Crab, it holds a face in its claws that is painted in gold, possibly to represent the Sun.

b.

مه در میزان، نکوست ترویج و سفر،
دیدار زنان و خادمان سرور.
پوشیدن جامه و طرب هست نکو،
وز بستن عهد دور بودن بهتر.

With the Moon in Libra, making marriages is good, and journeys,

The seeing of women and noble servants.

Donning new clothes and merriment are good,

And it is better to shun the making of pacts.

Libra is usually represented as the Scale, as in this illustration. A bearded man wearing a green tunic is seen holding a gold metal scale.

d.

هرگاه که سوی برج قوس آید ماه،
 حاجت ز قضاة و اهل علم اندر خواه.
 برده خر و تزویج کن و رو حمام.
 دارو مخور و شخص خود از رنج مگاه.

When the Moon comes to the sign of Sagittarius
 Make your requests from judges and men of
 learning.
 Buy slaves, make marriages, and visit the bath.
 Do not take medicine or weaken yourself with
 toil.

Sagittarius, the Centaur, is depicted here as a man shooting an arrow toward his own tail, which ends in a dragon's head. This is the usual representation of this sign in the Islamic zodiac. The creature, half man and half dragon, wears a tunic with gold flowers and a Mongol cap with a turned-up brim. The dragon's head is typically Chinese in inspiration, with a floating "beard" and a prominent snout.

e.

چون مه بجدی بشد، بکن مهمانی.
 کاریز کن و جوی، اگر بتوانی.
 بنده خر و چارپای، اگر زر داری.
 در علم ببر رنج، مکن نادانی.

When the Moon has come to Capricorn, hold
 entertainments.
 Dig *qanāts* and canals, if you are able.
 Buy slaves and animals, if you have the money.
 Toil to acquire learning; do not behave ignorantly.

Capricorn is conventionally represented as a seated goat-like animal with long curving horns. Its fur is brown, with black stripes on the backs of the shin-bones, and the tail is short and straight.

f.

ماه اندر دلو، اگر ترا باشد زر،
 اسباب و متاع و بنده هندو خر
 دیدار و کیلان و مشایخ نیکوست.
 منعست ز فصد و صید و تزویج و سفر.

With the Moon in Aquarius, if you have money,
 Buy furnishings and goods and Indian slaves.
 To see agents and sheikhs is good.
 There is a ban on bleeding, hunting, marriage
 making, and travel.

Aquarius, as usual, is shown as a man collecting water from a well. The man wears only trousers and represents Saturn, the planet of this sign. The well is clearly drawn, with a large wheel, the water indicated in pale blue, and the bucket is brown to suggest leather. A triangular section of the well is made up of bricks painted in shades of violet ranging from a pale to a darker color.

هرگاه کی سرت برح قوس آید ماه
برده خوت زوخ کن در خمسم
حاجت رخصه و اهل علم اندر خوا
دارو مخور و شهر خن داز رخ مکا



چون ماه جدی شد کن مهمانی
سنه خرو حار بای اگر زرداری
کار بزن و جوی اگر بتوانی
در علم سپور



اسباب
منعست

از دلو کتر باشد زر
دیر رو کیلان و مشایخ بیکوست



6 d-f (verso)

7 a–b (recto)

Leaf from the Mu'nis al-aḥrār manuscript

Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 46.14 B

a.

ماه اندر حوت، علم آموز و کلام.
حاجت در خواه از صدور و حکام.
در پوش هر آنچه داری از جامه، نو
وز فصد بهره‌یز. سخن گشت تمام.

With the Moon in Pisces, study learning and
theology,

Make requests from ministers and judges,
Wear whatever new clothes you possess,
Abstain from bleeding. The tale is ended.

Pisces, a gray fish, is the same as the fish in the illustration of the first poem (cat. no. 3b), only here it is much larger and appears to be looking at the Moon, which is directly in front of it.

b.

دراج فن و بازمنش، عکۀ فعال
بلبل نغمه، های فر، کبک دلال،
بط سینه، عقاب کینه، طاوس جمال،
طوطی خط و زاغ زلف و سیمرغ وصال.

Wiles of francolin, spirit of hawk, quickness of
magpie,

Music of nightingale, splendor of *humā*, glance of
partridge,
Breast of duck, wrath of eagle, beauty of peacock,
Cheek-down like parrot, hair like raven—
attainable as *simurgh*.

The birds are arranged in two rows of six. Those on the upper row stand on a green stripe, below which the brown background gradually dissolves into a very pale color toward the bottom of the sheet. Pebbles are rendered in darker shades of brown. The sky is indicated at the top of the painting in a bluish green color. A large plant at the bottom right completes the illustration.

The attachments of the birds' wings are marked by gold roundels. The details of the feathers are drawn in black ink. The francolin is a multicolored bird rather resembling a woodpecker. The hawk is pale violet with a gold beak. The magpie is all black but for a pale gray section on its wing. The nightingale is very pale blue. The *humā* is a white bird of prey with gold legs. The partridge, a very large bird if compared with the others—although now damaged—has pale violet plumage and a striped breast. In the lower row, the duck is a large gray palmiped whose orange legs have been retouched and outlined in black. The purple eagle is the largest predatory bird, and appears to be perched on its gold legs above the tail of the peacock. The peacock, not as multicolored as the francolin, is the largest of the twelve birds and stands atop a "mushroom-like" bluish rock that is partially covered by the parrot's tail. The parrot is completely repainted as a long-necked bird. The raven is all black, its beak and legs bright orange. Finally, there is the *simurgh*—now rather damaged—the same rooster/predatory bird that appears in catalogue number 3f.



7 a-b (recto)

The Mu'nis al-aḥrār and Its Twenty-ninth Chapter

A. H. MORTON

The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār*, the *Free Men's Companion to the Subtleties of Poems*, is a very large anthology of Persian poetry, completed in A.D. 1341 by Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī. The title hints, and the preface confirms, that one of the principles of selection is the desire to illustrate the types of rhetorical artifice (*maṣnū'āt*, *laṭā'if*, *badā'ir*) used in Persian poetry.¹ The work is divided into thirty chapters partly, but not entirely, on this basis. Some chapters are devoted to genres, poems of advice, question-and-answer poems, complaints, chronograms, and so on; others to particular verse forms such as the *rubā'ī*, the *ghazal*, and the *musammat*; still others to poems exhibiting particular types of formal artifice, as, for example, repeated and internal rhymes. Chapter 5, on *maṣnū'āt*, includes a well-known "artificial" *qaṣīda*, or ode of Qivāmī, and a number of complicated exercises by the compiler's father, such as a poem that can be adjusted to be read with seven different rhymes. One chapter consists of selections from Firdausī's famous epic, the *Shāhnāma* or Book of Kings. As a guide to poetic form and rhetoric, the work, with its copious examples, supplements the briefer works on poetics such as the *Tarjūmān al-balāgha* and the *Hadā'iq al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāt. Since its discovery it has also been valued for containing, in addition to mainly later material, a number of early poems that are otherwise lost. Particular attention has been paid to a group of *rubā'iyāt* that are among the earliest attributed to 'Umar Khayyām.

However, it is Chapter 29 that puts poetics into contact with painting and brings the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* within the scope of the present exhibition. It com-

prises three poems, which are illustrated; the first and third of them provide examples of a curious and rare poetic (or painterly) device relating text and illustration and certainly not covered by other works of rhetoric. Exceptionally, for a work of such age, a fourteenth-century manuscript, apparently written by the author himself, still survives. Where the author includes his own poems he refers to himself as the scribe or copyist (*kātib*) and the manuscript ends with a verse colophon introduced in this way, which informs us that the work was completed in the month of Ramadan 741, when the sun was in Pisces and the moon in Cancer. The date corresponds to February–March 1341.² The care taken over the production of the manuscript, and in particular the neat incorporation of the colophon on the last page, provides some support for the assumption that it is the compiler's original copy.

Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī is unknown except for this single work. His father, Badr al-Dīn, who will be discussed again later, is a rather more conspicuous figure. A poet, he came from the small town of Jājarm in Khurāsān, and in the latter part of his life lived mainly in Isfahan. There he died, we learn from contemporary verse chronograms, on the last day of A.H. Jumādā II 686/A.D. August 11, 1287.³ As this is fifty-five years before his son Muḥammad wrote his manuscript of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, the probability is strong that Muḥammad was very young when his father died. Those of Muḥammad's own poems that can be dated belong to the period after the death of the ruler of the Īlkhānid dynasty, Abū Sa'īd, which took place in 1335, nearly fifty years after Badr al-Dīn's death. It is not known how the

orphaned Muḥammad passed his early life. The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* testifies to his education and his interest in poetry, and the edition preserves the opening hemistich of one poem of complaint by him in which he speaks of composing many a eulogy for the “base and the low.”⁴ It is not, however, clear to what extent he enjoyed a successful career as a panegyric poet, comparable to that of his father. The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is not dedicated to a particular patron; the author states that he was encouraged to produce it by friends and wise notables (*mashāḥir-i khiradmand*) with a taste for poetic artifice.⁵ His relatively modest estimate of his own poetic talent perhaps can be deduced from the small number of his own productions that he incorporated in his work: eight poems, including the verse colophon. In these he generally refers to himself as Ibn Badr, the son of Badr, which could perhaps signify that he recognized that as a poet he was in his father's shadow. Of his poems, only one, a chronogram on the death of Jamāl al-Dīn Lunbānī, seems to refer to particular patrons.⁶ Khwāja Jamāl al-Dīn, who was killed—martyred, in the poet's words—in Shaʿbān 737/March–April 1337, is spoken of in terms (*sāhib, khwāja*) that indicate that he was an Iranian functionary, presumably in Īlkhānid service. The poet also laments the death of Jamāl al-Dīn's son Khwāja Ḥasan; it may be conjectured that father and son were killed on the same occasion. The poem ends with praise of another son who survived, ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

Lunbān is one of the quarters of Isfahan, situated on the western edge of the pre-modern city. In the fourteenth century it was probably still separated from the center of Isfahan by open land. It is likely that the Lunbānī family belonged to the class of owners of substantial landed property, from which the high bureaucracy of Iran had long been recruited. In another poem—to be dated some years later and considered further, below—the mosque of Lunbān is singled out among the wonders of Isfahan, and described as rivaling the Garden of Eden.⁷ This would seem to confirm Ibn Jārmī's connection with the district.

Another poem refers briefly to the departed glory

of the days of the Īlkhānid Abū Saʿīd—a theme that is taken up again in more detail in a long *qaṣida*, which, although not part of the chapter on “complaints,” belongs to that genre.⁸ This second poem is the most important source of information on the poet's life and has a bearing on where exactly the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* manuscript was written, as well as the connected question of where it was illustrated. The subject of the poem is the lamentable condition of Isfahan at the time of writing and the poet's own unhappy situation. For a long while, he tells us, he had had adequate means and had been living a stable and contented life in Isfahan. Things had changed with the deaths of Abū Sāʿīd and the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn, both of which, we are informed, took place in the single year, A.H. 736/A.D. 1335–36. Justice and order had prevailed until then, but a group of rogues, rascals, murderers, and thieves had since brought ruin upon the town and district of Isfahan. This ignorant gang, who were themselves people of Isfahan, had plundered and extorted mercilessly. Their oppression is compared unfavorably with that of the wicked usurper of Iranian legend, Zāḥḥāk; with the Mongol sack of Isfahan, which had only lasted a week; and with the comparatively minor depredations of the famous early-fourteenth-century bandit, Jamāl-i Lūk. Isfahan had long been known for the violence and destruction arising from rivalry among local factions. It is possible that the poet's view is to some extent partisan, but his poem is valuable testimony to the breakdown of order at the local level in the period after Abū Saʿīd's death, when the Īlkhānid state rapidly collapsed. The killing of Jamāl al-Dīn Lunbānī and his son, commemorated by Muḥammad ibn Jārmī, as has been seen, took place in this period and may have been an incident in the local civil war.⁹

That during the period of instability following the death of Abū Saʿīd Isfahan was at times left to its own devices by the main competitors for power is confirmed by a notice preserved by the historian Ḥāfiẓ Abrū. It records who held the various provinces of the collapsing Īlkhānid empire in 739 and states that Isfahan was under the control (*zabt*) of

local leaders: the chiefs of the town factions and in addition two named individuals, Sayyid Jalāl Mīr-i Mīran, who came from an influential family claiming descent from the prophet Muḥammad, and, most interestingly, Muḥammad ibn Jājarmī's possible patron, ʿImād al-Dīn Lunbānī.¹⁰ Nevertheless, although in his poem Ibn Jājarmī lays the blame for Isfahan's troubles exclusively on local people, it should not be assumed that such an important city and region were left with complete independence between 736 and 741. There can in fact be little doubt that in 740 Isfahan had been incorporated in a more or less regular manner into the realm of the Īlkhānid Sulaymān, who was himself a puppet under the control of Shaykh Ḥasan Chūbānī,¹¹ and that this was still the case when the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* was completed. We are informed that in 742 Pīr Ḥusayn Chūbānī, who had been sent to southern Iran in the name of Sulaymān, replaced Sulṭānshāh Jāndār, whom he (Pīr Ḥusayn) had previously appointed governor of Isfahan, with Shaykh Abū Ishāq Īnjū.¹²

As to the chronological question, the poet informs us that the period of disorder, which began, as already mentioned, with the deaths of Abū Saʿīd and Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 736, had, at the time his poem was written, lasted "more or less" five years. Abū Saʿīd died on 13 Rabīʿ II 736/November 30, 1335, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn's execution, which was not directly connected with his former master's death, took place on Saturday 21 Ramadan of the same year (May 3, 1336).¹³ Adding five years to the later date brings us to Ramadan 741, the exact date of the colophon of the autograph copy of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*. The poet was in Isfahan when he wrote the poem and although his "more or less" warns us not to insist too precisely on his dates here, it is certain that he was there not long before he wrote the manuscript. Of course no evidence exists that he ever left the region and thus it is a reasonable presumption that the manuscript was written as well as illustrated there.

Concerning the illustrations, both those in the manuscript and those of the models upon which they must be based, there are questions that need to be asked, even if they can only be answered tenta-

tively at best. In the case of the first poem, the evidence that Rāvandī (see below)—who, while not the author of the poem, seems likely to have had the idea of illustrating it—was experienced in some areas of book production and showed an interest in figural painting provides some grounds for assuming that he was also the original illustrator. With the 1341 manuscript, too, although there is no comparable evidence regarding Muḥammad ibn Jājarmī, it may be at least suggested that he could have been responsible for the miniatures. To postulate, in the customary fashion, the existence of a new Isfahani atelier, or even a Lunbānī school of manuscript illumination, on the basis of a single manuscript is likely to be unhelpful and perhaps even misleading. It is known that the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* was completed privately and in difficult times; only a few pages of a very substantial manuscript were illustrated. Its compiler had written the manuscript himself and it is not difficult to imagine that he also had the skill necessary to execute the miniatures.

Muḥammad Rāvandī and the Poem in Praise of Sulaymānshāh

The first of the three poems in Chapter 29 is attributed in the heading to the Master Muḥammad Rāvandī. As it stands, it is a eulogy of a ruler called Sulaymānshāh, a prince of the dynasty of the Seljuks of Rūm—that is, Asia Minor. However, the poem in its original form was not in praise of Sulaymānshāh, or composed by Rāvandī. There are no less than three different versions dedicated to different rulers: Ṭughril, Sulaymānshāh, and Kaykhusrau. The textual history, while complicated, needs to be examined since it is of significance for the correct appreciation of the remarkable illustrations in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* manuscript; it may be conveniently introduced through a brief outline of Rāvandī's life.

Virtually everything known about Rāvandī comes from his one surviving work, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, a history of the Seljuk dynasty of Iran with a quantity of additional material. Its author came from a family of teachers, calligraphers, and scholars, that took its

name from the small town of Rāvand, which is not far from Kashan. Kashan itself was a center of the Shi'i sect, but the Rāvandīs were orthodox Sunnis and, like the Seljuks, of the Ḥanafī school. Rāvandī was probably born about A.D. 1165. His father died when he was still at an early stage in his education, but he was taken care of by an uncle, Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. Tāj al-Dīn was a learned man, poet, teacher, preacher, and theologian, and his nephew spent ten happy years with him in the various great towns of Central Iran, notably Isfahan and Hamadan, which was then the capital. During this period Muḥammad Rāvandī became a calligrapher himself, learning how to copy Qur'āns, and also how to gild and bind manuscripts. The money he earned from these skills was spent on books on theology, which he read with the well-known teachers of the day. Thus he completed his education.¹⁴

In 577/1181–82, Rāvandī tells us, the Seljuk sultan Ṭughril ibn Arsalān was seized by an enthusiasm for calligraphy and he appointed another of Rāvandī's uncles, Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad, to teach him this and other subjects. When his writing was sufficiently good the sultan embarked on a project to complete a large Qur'ān in thirty sections in his own hand. It was to be lavishly decorated, with expensive gilding. Rāvandī, no doubt at his uncle's suggestion, was included on the team of painters and gilders (*naqqāshān va muzabbibān*) who worked on the Qur'ān. His speciality was the outlining of the sultan's written text in gold;¹⁵ his experience of calligraphy enabled him to do this particularly successfully. All the emirs of (Persian) Iraq, we are told, adopted the new fashion for education.¹⁶

The situation needs some filling in. Rāvandī does not entirely conceal the facts. "The slaves were at war," he tells us, "and the sultan at the feast. The Atābak was conquering the world, and [the sultan] was at the capital."¹⁷

Born in 564/1168–69, Sultān Ṭughril had come to the throne as a child in 571, at the turn of 1175–76. He was still only thirteen when Rāvandī's uncle became his teacher. In view of his age it is natural that he was a figurehead at this stage and that power was

in other hands: those of the atābak, Jahān Pahlavān (World Champion) Muḥammad. In addition, although Ṭughril was allowed to live in state to some degree, it was doubtful whether he would ever enjoy real power. The practice of entrusting the government of provinces to young princes under the tutelage of guardians (*atābaks*) who were mostly Turkish slave soldiers had led to the independence of the outlying parts of the Great Seljuk empire under the rule of the *atābaks* and their own descendants, and Jahān Pahlavān's father, Ildigiz, had installed this system at the heart of the state. Ṭughril's father had been the nominal ruler in Ildigiz's time.

Ṭughril was not just cultured, but also brave and physically very strong. He was still only eighteen when Jahān Pahlavān died in 582/1186 but he bid for independence and, for the remainder of his life, except for two years' imprisonment, he can be said to have acted as an independent, if unsuccessful, ruler. The opposition and feuding of the family of Ildigiz and other military leaders; the hostility of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir, who had no reason to desire a revival of Seljuk power; the pressure of the Khwārazm-shāhs from the East; and Ṭughril's own rashness were among the causes of his failure to re-create a Seljuk kingdom of any extent. In 590/1193, deserted by his commanders, he died in battle with the Khwārazm-shāh. With him Seljuk rule in Iran came to an end.

Rāvandī had left Hamadan in 585/1189, accompanying his uncle Zayn al-Dīn on a mission from the sultan to the ruler of Mazandaran. There he became unwell and, suffering from some persistent malady, he spent a long period back in Rāvand.¹⁸ It was some time later, possibly after Ṭughril's death, that he returned to Hamadan, where he apparently made his living as a teacher. The situation in western Iran was grim. The Khwārazmian occupation after the death of Ṭughril resulted in the devastation of the region, and when the Khwārazmians withdrew upon the death of their ruler Takash the area was left to be disputed by the surviving generals of the former Seljuk dynasty. Rāvandī spent two years as the teacher of a cloth merchant's son. A mercantile family could, of course, have been very rich, but this

position must have been something of a disappointment to one who had been the tutor of the great ʿAlawī family, the most influential in Hamadan.¹⁹

In 599/1202–3, Rāvandī tells us in his introduction, having received no adequate patronage since the days of Tughril—when, in any case, he had been too young to benefit substantially—he decided to try to remedy this situation and, in addition, win eternal fame, by writing a book. As a former servant of the Seljuks he wished to dedicate the book to a Seljuk patron, and when the Seljuk ruler of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusrau took Antalya on the Mediterranean coast from the Christians (603/1207), he decided that he had found a suitable dedicatee.²⁰ However, in the conclusion of the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* a different story is given. There Rāvandī states that originally he had intended to present the book to the previous sultan of Rūm, Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymānshāh, but had discovered that he was a usurper and that Ghiyāth al-Dīn was the true heir to the throne. Rāvandī was left at a loss until he met a merchant from Rūm who had come to Hamadan, a loyal supporter of the Seljuks and of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusrau in particular. Rāvandī discussed his book with the merchant and found him enthusiastic. Thus the book came to be altered in order to be presented to Kaykhusrau. As Muḥammad Iqbāl notes in the edition, at various points in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* the text retains obvious signs that it was originally drafted for presentation to Sulaymānshāh. Possibly some need for haste prevented a more thorough revision, and this may be why Rāvandī does, in the conclusion, say more or less what had happened.²¹

In Seljuk Rūm the story of the conflict between the numerous sons of Qilij Arsalān after his death in 1192 is complicated, but what Rāvandī says about the succession is essentially in agreement with the other sources. Kaykhusrau had been designated heir by his father, but had been driven into exile by his elder brother Sulaymānshāh, who had gained control of the capital, Qonya. After Sulaymānshāh's death in 1204 it was not long before his young son was ousted and Kaykhusrau took his place. Rāvandī alludes to an attack on Georgia made by Sulaymān-

shāh at about the time that the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* was begun, and this in particular is likely to have been what encouraged him to seek Sulaymānshāh's patronage.²² Georgia was beyond the usual field of action of the Seljuks of Rūm; it bordered on Iran and the rulers or governors of Azerbaijan, the domain par excellence of the family of Ildigiz, were inevitably often involved with Georgian affairs. Sulaymānshāh's campaign thus brought the sultan of Rūm unusually close to Iran. Rāvandī's frequently expressed loyalty to the Seljuks, past and present, can be seen as more than mere flattery of a hoped-for patron. At points the desire is expressed that Kaykhusrau (or Sulaymānshāh, if these passages existed in the earlier version) will restore Seljuk rule in Iran.²³ It can be accepted that in this respect the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* truly reflects the longing for the restoration of order felt by loyalists to the dynasty in western Iran. The attack on Georgia, according to Ibn Bībī, ended in rout, but Sulaymānshāh nevertheless gained credit for pursuing the holy war against the infidels. Sulaymānshāh is also known from other sources for his intellectual interests and his generosity to the learned; this, too, must have made him appear a promising patron.²⁴ However, he died, and Rāvandī had to look for another dedicatee. Whether he himself ever reached the court of Kaykhusrau is not known, but it is reasonably certain that his book did get to Qonya, for the unique and early manuscript, copied in 635/1238, was written by someone with the name Qunyawī (from Qonya). The work was also translated later into Turkish.

The poem with which we are concerned appears in the eulogistic passage with which the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* concludes. The only significant difference between the essential text of this version and the one in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is that the dedicatee has changed. Instead of "The just monarch Sulaymānshāh who owns . . ." the first hemistich of the second verse reads, "Shāh Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusrau who owns. . ."²⁵ Like the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* itself, the poem has been adapted to suit the changed situation. Nor was this the first time the poem had been "recycled," for, as Muḥammad Iqbāl (editor of the *Rāḥat*

al-ṣudūr) pointed out, it had originally been written in praise of Sulṭān Ṭuḡhril, and the evidence is that it was not by Rāvandī but by the poet Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurva. A text of this, attributed to Shufurva, is preserved in the *Tazkirat al-Shuʿarā* of Dawlatshāh and it is also found in Shufurva's collected works.²⁶ The dedicatee is here described in the second line as, "Ṭuḡhril, he who from seven Sultans possesses. . ."²⁷ The version dedicated to Sulaymānshāh that appears in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, the text of which is reproduced below, is thus an intermediate one, produced, it appears, when Rāvandī was considering seeking the patronage of Sulaymānshāh. We do not know if it was ever incorporated in his earlier recension of the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*. One imagines that separate copies of the illustrated versions of the poem also were produced; they would have made attractive little offerings to catch a patron's eye, and the version in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* may derive from such a copy. (Although it further complicates a complicated picture, one cannot resist recording the speculation that an initial illustrated version may have been produced to appeal to the adolescent taste of Ṭuḡhril at the time that he was practicing calligraphy with Rāvandī's uncle.)

Rāvandī does not claim in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* that he wrote the poem, but his failure to name its real author seems a clear enough case of *suggestio falsi*. He was in the habit of reusing both his own and other people's material. The earlier part of his history of the Seljuks is largely copied from the *Saljūqnāma* of Zāhīr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, and the frequent poetic citations in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* are evidently material gathered for another project, an anthology of poetry.²⁸ Shufurva was, of course, a contemporary of Rāvandī but, unlike some other poets of the period, he is not mentioned in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*. However, while the original poem is evidently by Shufurva, it is not improbable that credit for the idea of illustrating it, which made a rather commonplace eulogy something that, in a rather childish way, was truly original, should go to Rāvandī.

Some explanation of the form of Rāvandī's inno-

vation is called for at this point. Shufurva's poem is composed of four stanzas and is of the form known as a *tarkib-band*. In each stanza the two initial half verses or hemistichs (*miṣrāʿs*) rhyme together; they also rhyme with the remaining verses except the last. These concluding verses of the stanzas have an internal rhyme like the initial ones, but are not required to rhyme with each other. The number of verses in a stanza is not prescribed and can vary within the same poem, though in this case each stanza has five verses. The meter is a variety of *ramal*. Verbally, Shufurva's poem is an exaggerated example of the rhetorical device known as *siyāqat al-a'dād*, or "enumeration." All the second hemistichs consist of nothing more than lists of words, with, or occasionally without, connecting "ands." The wording of the first hemistichs is so arranged as to make these lists meaningful in the context of the whole verses. This can be more easily understood from the text or the translation. What Rāvandī noticed—assuming the idea was his—was that it was possible not merely to enumerate but also to illustrate each of the individual items in the second hemistichs. At a number of points the variations between Rāvandī's texts of the poem and Shufurva's originals demand to be explained as due to the desire to substitute things that could easily be illustrated for those that would have caused difficulties. (See the commentary to the poem below.)

So far the concept may not sound particularly exciting, but, happily, confirmation exists that there was rather more to it. Unique to the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* is an introductory couplet, in *rubāʿī* meter, which precedes the poem and explains how the illustrated version was intended to work. It may be translated: Poetry which is beyond human endeavor/This is, for it is praise of the Fortunate Monarch./Read one half written down, for the other half,/Through the names of the pictures, has meaning and meter.²⁹

Whomever the first verse originally was addressed to, the second clearly refers to an illustrated poem. However, the form of presentation envisaged is slightly different from that of the only surviving text

with illustrations—the 1341 manuscript. It implies a version in which only the first hemistich of each verse is written out (or visible), calling upon the reader to work out the wording of the second hemistich with no other help than that of the illustrations (and the meter and rhyme). This certainly does give the artifice rather more point. It also explains the unusual way the verses are laid out in the 1341 manuscript, with the first hemistichs written in a large bold script, while the second ones, the answers to the puzzle, are much smaller and are crammed in panels at the left sides of the pages. This layout does not really enable the puzzle to be approached in the way suggested in the *rubāʿī* because it would not have been easy to conceal the answers with, say, the hand or a piece of paper, without at the same time obscuring the leftmost portions of the illustrations. However, it is not difficult to suggest ways by which a better solution might have been achieved: for instance, by placing the “answers” on the backs of the illustrated sheets or down the left-hand sides. We may assume that a copy or copies existed in which some such layout was used. There appears to be no precedent recorded for this combination of visual and verbal puzzle in the Islamic world.³⁰

The *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* demonstrates that Rāvandī had wide interests and an original, slightly eccentric, mind in which his undeniable tendency toward plagiarism is not out of place. After the historical section ends the work continues with a number of heterogeneous passages on such subjects of interest to the educated courtier as chess and backgammon, the lawfulness of drinking and hunting, and calligraphy. As an instance of idiosyncratic thinking, one may note his statement that he originally planned to end his work with a collection of funny stories and obscenities (*mazāḥik*, *hazaliyat*), intended to give the reader some relief when bored with the serious parts of the book and to encourage the less sophisticated to read it. His friends eventually persuaded him of the impropriety of this idea.³¹ The invention of the poem-puzzle seems perfectly in keeping with what we know of Rāvandī. In addition, the question of

whether he himself painted the original illustrations demands to be reviewed. Of course no conclusive proof is available. It cannot be said that it would have been impossible for him to explain his idea to a painter who specialized in figures, left over perhaps from Sulṭān Ṭughril's atelier. However, circumstantial evidence makes it very likely that there was no need for such a clumsy method of proceeding and that Rāvandī executed the whole project himself. As has already been pointed out, at quite an early age he was a skilled calligrapher, gilder, and bookbinder. He had worked with illuminators and designers on Sulṭān Ṭughril's Qurʾān. It is true that we have no explicit statement that he himself painted figures; figures would not have appeared in a Qurʾān. The Islamic law's prohibition of the depiction of animate beings must have discouraged explicit boasting about the employment of any talent of the sort. That Rāvandī did have an interest in figural painting is confirmed by his comparatively full description of an illustrated manuscript that was prepared for Sulṭān Ṭughril in 580/1184–85. Such testimony about Persian miniature painting is extremely rare in all periods and in this case is especially valuable because it is earlier than any surviving Persian miniatures.³² The work in question was basically an anthology of poetry. The copyist of the manuscript was Rāvandī's own uncle Zayn al-Dīn and it was illustrated by a painter called Jamāl Isfahānī, who is likely, of course, to have been from Isfahan.³³ A portrait (*ṣūra*) of each of the poets was placed before his poetry. A number of facetious stories (*mazāḥik*) formed a kind of appendix to the anthology; these, too, were provided with figural illustrations. Ṭughril used the work to enliven his “salon.”³⁴

Whether Rāvandī personally executed the original illustrations or not, it needs to be considered to what extent the existing ones in the 1341 *Muʿnis al-aḥrār* manuscript, which were not greatly affected by the most striking developments in fourteenth-century painting in Iran, may reflect a model dating from nearly a century and a half before or—at the least—a tradition deriving from such a model.

Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī and His Illustrated Poems

As has already been noted, Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī is rather better known than his son. No *divān* or collected works of his have yet come to light and the largest body of his poetry that survives is probably that incorporated in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*. However, he is quoted in other anthologies. In the late fifteenth century Dawlatshāh included Badr al-Dīn in his influential "Biographical Dictionary of Poets," and he appears in several similar later works.³⁵

Jājarm, the home of Badr al-Dīn, son of ʿUmar, is a small town in western Khurāsān, in the district known as Juvayn; it was the patronage of the great Juvaynī family that brought Badr al-Dīn westward. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juvaynī, the most influential of all the Iranian officials in the service of the Mongols in Persia, was appointed *ṣāhib divān*—head of the bureaucratic apparatus—by Hūlāgū in the winter of 1262–63. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Juvaynī was at the height of his power in the next reign, that of Abāqā. An indication of the extent of his influence is that in 1265 his eldest and favorite son, Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad, then only twelve years old, was appointed to govern the major part of the great province of Central Iran called Persian Iraq. We are told that the appointment meant that Bahā al-Dīn's education was cut short, and he has left an evil reputation for severity and cruelty, but, until his death, which occurred in December 1279, he was Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī's main patron.³⁶ One may speculate that Badr al-Dīn also acted as teacher to the boy, although the surviving poems provide no confirmation. Badr al-Dīn celebrated Bahā al-Dīn's appointment as governor, and fourteen years later mourned his death.³⁷ Bahā al-Dīn's capital was Isfahan and evidently it was there that Badr al-Dīn established his home. Hamadan, the second city of the province, was also visited on occasion;³⁸ it may have been on one of these journeys that a copy of the first of the illustrated poems in Chapter 29, originally constructed by Rāvandī at Hamadan as has been seen, was found and brought back to Isfahan.

Shams al-Dīn Juvaynī survived his son. His execu-

tion in 1284, under the new ruler Arghūn, is recorded in a couplet by Badr al-Dīn.³⁹ One or two other patrons appear in his poems, but among the last of his compositions must be those in which he laments the loss of the great Ṣāhib, and rejects the idea of trying to seek favor elsewhere.⁴⁰ He himself died, as stated above, in Isfahan in August 1287.

As a poet, Badr al-Dīn is principally known for his interest in formal artifices. The second of the two illustrated poems presented below can serve as an example: It is constructed entirely of compound adjectives exploiting the names of birds. The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* also includes a series of *rubāʿiyyāt* by him exemplifying various poetic conceits.⁴¹ However, another kind of interest is shown by the astrological poem in Chapter 29, as well as by a similar composition on a different kind of prognostication, which forms Chapter 21 of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*.⁴² This latter is concerned with palmoscopy, the prediction of events from the twitching of the various parts of the body (*ikhtilāj*). The procedure has a long history and in its Islamic form derived from the Hellenistic world. Unlike the astrological poem, this work is frankly stated to be based on a prose version. It is dated A.H. 685, the year before Badr al-Dīn's death, and lacks a particular dedication.

In the rubrics the astrological poem is entitled "Ikhtiyārāt-i qamar" ("Lunar Elections"). Elections is the name of one of the standard techniques of astrological prediction. Its purpose in general is to select a time for carrying out some action that is fortunate in astrological terms. The procedure came to the Muslims from the astrologers of the classical world—notably, from Dorotheus of Sidon, whose Greek astrological epic, only surviving in an Arabic prose version made from a Middle Persian intermediary, included a book on elections.⁴³ Not all astrologers accepted electional prediction, which could be seen to contradict prognostication on the basis of the horoscope of the individual. However, many Muslim scholars did accept its validity and a number wrote about it. For instance, the philosopher and theologian Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī wrote a detailed work on the subject in the later twelfth century, of

which both Arabic and Persian versions are known.⁴⁴ Elections can be carried out in various ways. The procedure used in Jājarmī's poem was probably attractive because of its relative simplicity. It requires that it be established which of the signs of the zodiac the moon is in, or which it will be in, when some action is contemplated. The introductory section of Jājarmī's poem instructs us how to do this. First we need to know which sign of the zodiac the sun is in and how many days old the moon is—neither of which would have presented much difficulty. The moon's position in the zodiac can then be calculated according to the formula in the poem, and by checking the section on the sign in question we can tell what is or is not advisable to do.⁴⁵ Alternatively, a suitable occasion can be found in the poem and the corresponding date calculated according to the formula.

The formula gives a value of five for the time taken for the moon to pass through each sign, while requiring the age of the moon in days to be doubled. This implies that the moon takes two-and-a-half days to pass through each sign, and thirty days to traverse the entire zodiac. There is a discrepancy here, of course, with the astronomical facts, for the moon completes its passage through the zodiac in a little over twenty-seven-and-a-quarter days. The formula undervalues the real speed of the moon's progress, which was known quite accurately in the Islamic world, and, by the end of the lunar month produces an error of something more than one sign's extent. When the sun enters a new sign the calculation is restarted, so the error does not accumulate further. The figure of two-and-a-half days for the moon's passage through a sign is found elsewhere. Its effect is to produce a "lunar month"; this is less than half a day shorter than the solar one, which may in some circumstances have made it convenient. However, in the present case the addition of an extra five, equivalent to an extra sign, in the calculation is presumably intended to provide some adjustment for the error, although in the early part of the cycle it results in the moon being placed ahead of its true position.

Formally, Badr al-Dīn's poem falls into two sec-

tions. The introduction is in a *ramal* meter, using the same rhyme throughout. Following are twelve *rubā'iyāt*, each devoted to a sign of the zodiac. Although the *rubā'ī*, consisting of only two full verses, is most commonly used for brief epigrammatic poems, suites, as it were, of *rubā'iyāt* also were produced, with each individual quatrain concerned with one item in a set, or with a single aspect of a subject. Badr al-Dīn must have had some source for his astrological doctrine—probably a work in prose—but the transmission of such material in the Islamic world has not been studied in detail. It is uncertain whether the poem was intended for anyone in particular; the occasional vocative phrases, such as that in the first line, are perfunctory by the standards of medieval Persian eulogy and could refer to no more than an imaginary "gentle reader." On the other hand, it is probable that the idea of illustrating the poem was Badr al-Dīn's in the first place, and the intention may have been to produce an attractive object to present to a patron such as Bahā al-Dīn Juvaynī. The preoccupations revealed in the list of predictions are quite close to those in other works of a more or less similar nature. Except perhaps for the allusions to making war, the topics raised are mostly those that naturally concern not simply rulers and holders of political power but the prosperous as a whole, people with the resources to engage in construction and trading and such types of consumption as the purchase of jewels, animals, and slaves, with sufficient leisure to worry about their clothes and their health, as well as the time to resort to astrology.

As for the miniatures to the poem—unlike those of the other poems—they belong to a standard genre, that of astronomical or astrological illustration. The medieval period saw the quite widespread use of astrological figures in the Islamic world, not only in manuscripts but also in the decorative schemes of the applied arts and most notably in metalwork. As with Rāvandī's work, the question arises whether the illustrations in the original were painted by Badr al-Dīn himself. Although it does not seem unlikely that they were, in this case there is no evidence to support a positive answer.

Translations and Commentaries

A) In praise of Sulaymānshāh. Following the text of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*:

الباب التاسع والعشرون في ذكر اشعار المصور واختيارات قر .
استاد محمد الراوندى فرمايد رحمة الله عليه .

- Before the sultan stand in obedience:
Human and harpy, demon and fairy,
Before the just monarch Sulaymānshāh who owns:
Crown and throne, standard and signet.
His minstrel and cook, horseshoe and scribe are:
Venus, the Sun, the Moon, and Jupiter.
At his court wind, earth, water, and fire are:
Treasurer, changer, courier, jeweler.
5 Secluded together in the refuge of his justice are:
Lion and onager, wolf and sheep, partridge and hawk.

پیش سلطانند در فرمان بری
آدمی و بحری و دیو و پری
خسرو عادل سلیمانیه که یافت
تاج و تخت و رایت و انگشتی.
مطرب و طباح و نعل و کاتبش
زهره و خورشید و ماه و مشتری.
باد و خاک و آب و آتش بر درش
خازن و صراف و پیک و جوهری.
در پناه عدل او با هم برآز
شیر و گور و گرگ و میش و کبک و باز.

- In the hands of his slaves and of his friends are:
Spear and sword, javelin and pen.
Heaven be his servitor so long as he sets up:
Tent and pavilion, drum and banner.
Ever all roasted at his table are:
Ox and fish, camel and horse and sheep.
Ocean and mine have showered on his presence:
Pearl and ruby, coined gold and silver.
10 The minstrels at his banquet bear in their hands:
Lute and harp, rebec, pipe, and tambourine.

در کف غلمان و احبابش بهم
نیزه و شمشیر و زوبین و قلم.
باد فراش آسمانش تا زند
بارگاه و خرگه و کوس و علم.
جمله بریانی بخوانش بر مدام
گاو و ماهی، اشتر و اسب و غنم.
بحر و کان کرده نثار حضرتش
لؤلؤ و یاقوت و دینار و درم.
مطربان در بزمگاه او بکف
بربط و چنگ و ریاب و نای و دف.

- Making the garden of his pleasure their homeland are:
Rosebush and box-tree, cypress and elm.
Prey to his hawk and prey to his cheetah are:
Vulture and *simurgh*, elephant and rhinoceros.
Sun and Moon, Venus and Mercury are at his feast:
Falcon-drum and goblet, bowl and candlestick.
Overwhelming the corpses of his foes are:
Porcupine and stork, raven and kite.
15 Making melody in his garden are:
Nightingale and turtle, partridge and ringdove.

کرده در بستان عیش او وطن
گلبن و شمشاد و سرو و نارون.
صید باز و صید یوز او شده
کرگس و سیمرغ و پیل و کرگدن.
مهر و ماه و زهره و تیرش مدام
طبل باز و ساغر و طشت و لگن.
بر تن بدخواه او چیره شده
خارپشت و قلق و زاغ و زغن.
رودها در بوستانش ساخته
بلبل و قری و کبک و فاخته.

- May there be seen in the orchard of his desire:
Philomel, parrot, and peacock.
From the shoes of his charger kings have made:
Earring and armlet, collar and belt.

باد در باغ مرادش جلوه گر
عنذلیب و طوطی و طاوس ز.
کرده از نعل سمنندش خسروان
گوشوار و یاره و طوق و کر.

In tatters on the bodies of his foes are:
 Corselet and helmet, acton and shield.
 Piercing the frames of his enemies are:
 Mace and dart, *nācbakh*, arrow, and ax.
 20 In a hundred thousand towns and villages bear
 fruit for him:
 Apple and orange, citron, grenade, and quince.

پاره پاره بر تن بدخواه او
 جوشن و خود و قزاکند و سپر.
 کارگر بر پیکر خصمان او
 گرز و خشت و ناخ و تیر و تبر.
 بارور در صد هزارش شهر و ده
 سیب و نارنج و ترنج و نار و به.

Commentary

Textual notes on the poem as addressed to Sulaymānshāh are based on the 1341 manuscript and the edition of the *Mu'nis al-abrār* cited in note 1; those on the version addressed to Kaykhusrau on Rāvandī's *Rāhat al-ṣudūr* (pp. 458–59, as cited in note 14). For Shufurva's original, use has been made of Dawlatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā* and the *divān* of Shufurva contained in the early-seventeenth-century manuscript in the British Library (see note 26).

Line 1. Harpy. Rāvandī's versions, including that of the *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, read *baḥrī*, replacing the *waḥsh* or *waḥshī* of Shufurva's original. These words mean wild (as in animal, for example), and it is understandable that Rāvandī would have wished for something more precise to illustrate. However, *baḥrī* itself is puzzling. The illustration shows one of the human-headed birds that are called harpies by historians of Islamic art. In her study of the Islamic harpy, Eva Baer has pointed out not only that in the Islamic tradition the naming of such creatures is rather unstable, but also that this is the only case known in which they are called *baḥrī*; *baḥrī*, from the Arabic *baḥr* (sea), means marine, and is applied as an adjective to a variety of marine creatures, or as a noun to denizens of the sea whose precise nature is unspecified. There are occasional references in Arabic and Persian to various kinds of hawks known as *baḥrī*—sometimes with a

real or fancied habitat by the sea—but they, of course, do not have human heads. The hawk, unlike the harpy, would be out of place beside the other creatures mentioned in this line. Baer notes a few cases where harpies are shown in the neighborhood of the sea or have some kind of connection with marine creatures but this does not seem to provide much justification for calling them *baḥrī*. (See Baer, 1965, pp. 33, 48, 80.)

2. The variants of the first hemistich naming Tughril and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusrau instead of Sulaymānshāh have been noted above in the discussion of Rāvandī.

Standard. *Rāya*, replacing Shufurva's *afsar*, meaning crown or diadem. The change here is probably due to Rāvandī's desire to avoid duplication with the illustration of the crown (*tāj*) at the beginning of the hemistich.

3. This line, and in a slightly irregular way the next one, are examples of the rhetorical figure known both as *jam' va taqsim* or *laff va nashr*. One list is followed by a second list of items that relate individually to those of the first in the order in which they are given. In Islamic astrology the planet Venus is generally represented as a female musician. The heat of the Sun, of course, qualifies it to serve as Sulaymānshāh's cook. In the case of the Moon, it

is the shape of the crescent moon that conventionally calls forth the image of the horseshoe. The association of the planet Jupiter (Mushtarī) with the scribe seems awkward: Jupiter is in general the most auspicious of the planets, but Mercury (ʿUtārid, Tīr), often represented with a book or pen, is regarded as the patron of scribes.

4. The allusion to the four elements is a standard poetic device. Rāvandī has replaced three of the figures in the second hemistich, retaining only the courier (*payk*). In Shufurva's original, chamberlain (*hājib*), doorkeeper (*darbān*), and soldier (*lashkarī*) are given instead of treasurer (*khāzin*), banker or money changer (*ṣarrāf*, *Anglice* shroff), and jeweler (*jawharī*). In this case the alterations have a double effect. Firstly, treasurer, money changer, and jeweler can be shown with attributes, such as coins and jewels, which facilitates their recognition in the illustrations. Secondly, further poetic point is provided by linking the humans with the individual elements. This is quite clear in some cases, perhaps less so in others, but does not seem to have been intended by Shufurva, whose point appears to have been merely the general one that the elements are in the service of the king. In Rāvandī's version, the wind (*bād*, representing the element air) is an appropriate treasurer for the idealized monarch because its heedless scattering of whatever comes into its possession is symbolic of generosity. *Bād-dast*, or "wind handed," means generous. The earth is the source of jewels and precious metals, which were thought to be generated within it by the agency of the rays of the sun. Thus, like the *ṣarrāf*, it can provide limitless riches. With the terms in the order given, the further correspondences are not easy, and a more satisfactory result is obtained if a chiasmus is assumed here—that is, if fire is linked with the courier and water with the jeweler. Fire (like wind) often symbolizes speed, which in this case would be that of the courier, while water (*āb*) is applied—as to some extent in English—to the luster of jewels. The element water provides for the splendor of the king's jewels.

5. In the 1341 manuscript and the edition of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, lines 5–7 and the accompanying illustrations are in the wrong order (7, 5, 6), as is evident from the rhyme scheme. In the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* and the texts of Shufurva's original they are correctly placed and the correct order is followed here.

6. "Slaves and friends" (*ghilmān u aḥbāb*) replaces Shufurva's "servants and slaves" (*khuddām u ghilmān*). The Arabic *ghulām*, plural *ghilmān*, originally meaning "boy," came to be used for slaves, and in particular for the purchased slave soldiers also known as *mamlūks*. Hence the reference to arms in the second hemistich.

7. *Farrāsh* means servitor, male domestic servant, or literally "carpet spreader." Pitching and striking tents was one of the duties of the *farrāsh*. Pavilion (*khargah*, also *khargāh*) replaces the original *kandalān* of Shufurva. The latter is defined in the dictionaries as "a kind of tent," but without some knowledge of what sort one cannot tell if there was a reason for altering the word to *khargah*. The illustration of the *khargah* shows a tent with a framework of wooden trelliswork and a domed roof of similar construction. Such yurts—to use the later, but more familiar, term—are particularly associated with nomads of Turkish origin and their covering is normally of felt. *Khargah* is here contrasted with the *bārgāh*, which literally means place of audience and can apply equally to a permanent building, but is here represented as a cloth tent, seemingly open at both front and back. The tent appears to be supported on a central pole, but possibly this represents the end view of a line of poles supporting a ridgepole.

8. The first hemistich replaces Shufurva's "On his table for his guests are" (*bar sar-i khwānish barā-yi mih-mān*). Fish may to some extent have figured at the table of the Seljuk sultans, but when ox and fish (*gāw u māhi*) are mentioned together there is an obvious allusion to the Islamic cosmic scheme according to which the world is supported on an ox that in turn stands on a fish. In poetic hyperbole

such beasts would be particularly suitable food for the sultan's guests. As for the consumption of horse-flesh, some of the Sunni schools of law regarded it as permissible, but the Hanafī school, to which the Seljuk dynasty in general belonged, as did Rāvandī himself, classified it as forbidden or reprehensible (*makrūh*). Eating horses was of course customary among some Turkish and Mongolian pastoral nomads and is attested in Iran later under the Ilkhānids and Timurids, but it does not seem to be known from elsewhere that the Seljuks indulged in the practice.

9. For “ruby and gold coin” (*yāqūt u dīnār*) Shufurva's original has “turquoise and gold” (*fīrūza u zar*). It was probably the difficulty of illustrating gold as a substance that led Rāvandī to specify the gold *dīnār*, which could easily be represented. This, however, disturbed the meter, calling for the replacement of the turquoise, which could easily have been illustrated, by the ruby. Note that on the silver coins traces of legends and ornaments are visible. These do bear some resemblance to the coin types of the later Ilkhānid period.

12. Shufurva's original began, “Prey to his hawk and cheetah and saker” (*ṣayd-i bāz u yūz u chargh-i ū*). The *simurgh* is a huge mythical bird of prey. Its origins lie in pre-Islamic Iranian legend, but it is often identified with the Arabic *‘anqā*. It is said that its preferred prey was the elephant, although it would make do with large fish. It is the king's good fortune that his hawks can even deal with such a monster.

13. There is a contrast with line 4. Here it is simply the roundness of the heavenly bodies that calls forth the comparison with the objects listed in the second hemistich. The falcon-drum is “labeled” with its designation *ṭabl-i bāz*. Similar captions are occasionally found on objects represented on Mamlūk metalwork, but in this case the reason for its addition may have been to assist the person trying to work out Rāvandī's puzzle without a corresponding text. The falcon-drum was a small drum that a huntsman

could carry at the saddlebow. In hawking it was apparently beaten to flush the game, and it was sometimes used to signal in battle.

The line is omitted in both the available texts of Shufurva's poem, but is needed to complete the stanza.

17. The objects to which the royal horseshoe is compared are all emblems of servitude. Other kings will go to any lengths to demonstrate that they are servants or even slaves of the poet's patron. The illustrations emphasize the ring-like aspect of the belt and other objects and seem to imply a horseshoe in the shape of a ring, rather than the open-ended type familiar in modern Western iconography. Nevertheless, the horseshoe was commonly compared with the crescent moon, as in line 3.

18. Acton is a word used in medieval England for a padded coat, either worn under armor or serving by itself to protect the wearer. The Persian *qaz[z]āgand* was a similar garment. Etymology implies that it was stuffed with raw silk (*qazz*) but this need not always have been the case. There are variant forms of the word: the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* has *kajāgand* here.

On the relevant folio of the 1341 manuscript the text of this verse, which evidently was at the bottom of the recto, has been lost.

19. The illustration of the *nāchakh* throws light on the nature of an unusual weapon that may have been peculiar to the medieval Iranian world. It shows an object with a general resemblance to the modern hockey stick, with a long, quite thick shaft terminating in a curve at the end, presumably the head. The poets at times compared the *nāchakh* to the new moon, indicating that the curve was an essential part of it. From other references it is clear that the *nāchakh* was a composite weapon that could be employed as a mace but also had a blade of some sort.⁴⁶

20. The latest version, that in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, replaces town (*shahr*) with orchard (*bāgh*), a rather attractive emendation.

B) Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī's astrological poem:

O lofty in origin, if you wish to know clearly⁴⁷
 In which of the signs of the zodiac the Moon is,
 Know first that every month the Sun enters a new sign.
 For instance, if the Sun should be in the month of Aries,
 And if the Moon is ten days old, add ten more to that.
 When the doubling has been done, then add five more.
 Listen well to this point: allow one sign for each five.
 Begin from the sign in which the illustrious Sun is:
 5 The Moon is in Virgo, if the calculation is done right.
 Look well at this example I have given;
 In whichever sign the Sun is, make this calculation,
 And if you do not understand, others⁴⁸ do. I make
 it brief.⁴⁹

گر همی خواهی که دانی روشن، ای عالی گهر،
 کز بروج اندر کدامین برج می باشد قمر،
 شمس هر ماهی برجی می رود، اول بدان.
 فی المثل گر زانکه باشد در حمل از ماه خور،
 گر ز مه ده رفته باشد ده دگر بروی فزای.
 چون مضاعف شد، بر افزا آنگهی پنج دگر.
 گوش دار این نکته را: هر پنج را برجی بگیر.
 ابتدا ز آن برج کن کاتباست شمس نامور.
 مه بود در سنبله گر راست آید آن حساب.
 این مثالی را که آوردم تو نیکو کن نظر.
 در هر آن برجی که باشد شمس میکن این حساب،
 ورنه ندانی، دیگران دانند. کردم مختصر.

1. *Ḥamal*, the Ram (Aries)

[ماه در حمل]

If the Moon should be in Aries, put on new
 clothes,
 Exert yourself in being bled, hunting, enjoyment,
 and war.
 Refrain from marriage and taking medicine.
 Drink the cup of joy with military men.⁵⁰

مه در حمل ار دست دهد، نو در پوش
 در فصد و شکار و شادی و حرب بکوش.
 پرهیز کن از نکاح و دارو خوردن.
 با اهل سلاح جام شادی مینوش.

2. *Thawr*, the Bull (Taurus)

[ماه در ثور]

With the Moon in Taurus, know that companionship
 is good.
 It is good for you to start seeing women.
 Construction goes well, and the making of compacts,
 Making marriages, and entertainments for guests.

ماه اندر ثور، نیک دان انبازی.
 دیدار زنان، نیک بود کاغازی.
 نیکو آید عمارت و بستن عهد،
 تزویج کنی و میهمانی سازی.

3. *Jawzā*, the Constellation Orion (Gemini)

[ماه در جوزا]

With the Moon in Gemini, partnerships, making
 marriages and journeys
 Are good, if you do them, O you mine of jewels.
 Have clothing cut, make your requests from men of the pen.
 Do not take medicine and be sure to shun bleeding.

مه در جوزا، شرکت و تزویج و سفر
 نیکوست، اگر کنی تو، ای کان گهر.
 جامه بر و از اهل قلم حاجت خواه
 دارو مخور و همی کن از فصد حذر.

4. *Sarāṭān*, the Crab (Cancer)

[ماه در سرطان]

With the Moon in Cancer, it is proper to have clothes cut,
And if you take purgatives they will work excellently.
Buy jewels, travel on water, for that is good.
Send messengers wherever you need to.

مه در سرطان، جامه بریدن شاید
ور داروی مسهل بخوری نفع آید.
جوهر خر و در آب سفر کن که نکوست
بفرست رسول هر کجا کت باید.

5. *Asad*, the Lion (Leo)

[ماه در اسد]

The Moon is in Leo. Work with fire is good.⁵¹
Make your requests in the presence of kings.
Lay foundations, be bled, and make compacts
And avoid sewing and wearing new clothes.

مه در اسد است، کار آتش نیکو.
در نزد ملوک حاجت خویش بجو.
بنیاد نه و فصد کن و عهد ببند.
وز دوختن و پوشش نو شو یکسو.

6. *Sunbula*, the Ear of Corn (Virgo)

[ماه در سنبله]

With the Moon in Virgo, writing and teaching are good,
Seeing scribes and astrological calculations.
Bleeding and travel and building are good.
"Make marriages, wear new clothes," the wise man said.

در سنبله مه، نکوست خط و تعلیم
دیدار دبیران و حساب تنجیم.
فصد و سفر و بنا نهادن نیکوست.
«ترویج کن و بپوش نو.» گفت حکیم.

7. *Mizān*, the Balance (Libra)

[ماه در میزان]

With the Moon in Libra, making marriages is
good, and journeys,
The seeing of women and noble servants.⁵²
Donning new clothes and merriment are good,
And it is better to shun the making of pacts.

مه در میزان، نکوست ترویج و سفر،
دیدار زنان و خادمان سرور.
پوشیدن جامه و طرب هست نیکو،
وز بستن عهد دور بودن بهتر.

8. *‘Aqrab*, the Scorpion (Scorpio)

[ماه در عقرب]

With the Moon in Scorpio, taking medicine is good,
To make war and use wiles against one's enemies.
Stay at home. Do not travel. Do not put on new clothes.
It is good to plant new trees.⁵³

مه در عقرب، نکوست دارو خوردن،
با دشمن خویش جنگ و دستان کردن.
خانه بنشین، سفر مکن، جامه مپوش.
نیکو باشد درخت نو نشانیدن.

9. *Qaws*, the Bow (Sagittarius)

[ماه در قوس]

When the Moon comes to the sign of Sagittarius
Make your requests from judges and men of learning.
Buy slaves, make marriages, and visit the bath.
Do not take medicine or weaken yourself with toil.

هرگاه که سوی برج قوس آید ماه،
حاجت ز قضاة و اهل علم اندر خواه.
برده خر و تزویج کن و رو حمام.
دارو مخور و شخص خود از رنج مکاه.

10. *Jady*, the Kid (Capricorn)

[ماه در جدی]

When the Moon has come to Capricorn, hold entertainments.
Dig *qanāts*⁵⁴ and canals, if you are able.
Buy slaves and animals, if you have the money.
Toil to acquire learning; do not behave ignorantly.

چون مه بجدی بشد، بکن مہمانی.
کاریز کن و جوی، اگر بتوانی.
بنده خر و چارپای، اگر زر داری.
در علم ببر رنج، مکن نادانی.

11. *Dalw*, the Bucket (Aquarius)

[ماه در دلو]

With the Moon in Aquarius, if you have money,
Buy furnishings and goods and Indian slaves.
To see agents and sheikhs is good.
There is a ban on bleeding, hunting, marriage
making, and travel.

ماه اندر دلو، اگر ترا باشد زر،
اسباب و متاع و بنده هندو خر
دیدار و کیلان و مشایخ نیکوست.
منعت ز فصد و صید و تزویج و سفر.

12. *Hūt*, the Whale (Pisces)

[ماه در حوت]

With the Moon in Pisces, study learning and theology,
Make requests from ministers and judges,
Wear whatever new clothes you possess,
Abstain from bleeding. The tale is ended.

ماه اندر حوت، علم آموز و کلام.
حاجت در خواه از صدور و حکام.
در پوش هر آنچه داری از جامه نو
وز فصد بهرهیز. سخن گشت تمام.

C) *Badr al-Dīn's rubā'ī*:⁵⁵

[رباعی]

Wiles of francolin, spirit of hawk, quickness of magpie,
Music of nightingale, splendor of *humā*, glance of partridge,
Breast of duck, wrath of eagle, beauty of peacock,
Cheek-down like parrot, hair like raven—
attainable as *simurgh*.

دراج فن و بازمنش، عکھ فعال
بلبل نغمه، های فر، کبک دلال،
بط سینه، عقاب کینه، طاوس جمال،
طوطی خط و زاغ زلف و سیمرغ وصال.

Badr al-Dīn Jārmī's second illustrated poem consists of two full verses forming a single *rubāʿī*. The form is well known in the West, thanks to ʿUmar Khayyām and Edward Fitzgerald. This particular poem is addressed to the Beloved, who, whether regarded as human or divine, is evidently male, as is often the case in Persian poetry. The poet displays his talent for verbal artifice by creating the entire poem out of twelve compound adjectives—for example, “eagle-wrathed”—describing the Beloved's appearance and character. The English language does not use this type of word formation as freely as Persian and in the translation the various attributes therefore have been conveyed rather differently. Most of them will be readily comprehensible; a few need explanation.

The *humā* is generally described as a noble bird of prey, and sometimes identified with a particular species, most commonly the lammergeier or the osprey. The illustration here does show it as a light-colored bird of prey. In Iranian tradition it is a sign of good fortune if the bird's shadow falls on a person's head. Such an occurrence is in particular the sign of the possession of truly royal good fortune. The king's power itself was seen as marked by a visible aura of glory or splendor, termed *farr* or *farra*, which was in effect what the *humā* bestowed. Jārmī's compound *humā-farr* makes use of both elements of the traditional belief.

As for the parrot (*tūtī*), the connection here may seem strange, but it is explicable within the conventions of Persian poetry. The epithet is *tūtī-khatt*. *Khatt*, the basic meaning of which is line, here refers to the line of down formed by the initial growth of a boy's beard and moustache, which was regarded both as a mark of beauty and, often, as an intimation of beauty's fleeting nature. The appearance of this down could be conveyed by the phrase *sabz shudan*, a metaphor from the vegetable world, meaning to sprout, or, literally, to become green. It is the verbal association of the down of the moustache with the color


green in this and similar phrases that justifies the connection with the parrot. The new facial hair in its beauty thus recalls the beautiful vivid green of the parrot.

The final epithet again involves the *simurgh*, which has already been discussed in the notes to the first poem in the chapter (line 12). Here, however, a different point is made. One of the features of the *simurgh* to which poets make frequent reference is that, rather like Macavity the Mystery Cat, it is never there. One may know about it, but one does not see it. The reason for its invisibility is either that it inhabits such remote regions that it is never seen, or that the species has died out, and there are various accounts of its extinction. Badr al-Dīn Jārmī, after alluding to the various charms of the idealized Beloved, concludes on a pessimistic note: Union (*wiṣāl*) with the Beloved, as with the *simurgh*, is unattainable.

The illustrations consist of pictures of the twelve birds that appear in the twelve words that make up the poem. They are arranged in order in two rows. In the absence of other models Rāvandī's innovation could have been Badr al-Dīn's inspiration in this case. Once again, it is not impossible that he himself was the original artist and his son the painter of the surviving illustrations.

1. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, I, 1958, p. 2. A description in English was given by Qazwīn[ī] (1928–30).
2. For the recent history of the manuscript and its illustrations see the discussion by Stefano Carboni above. Some quite large sections are missing from the manuscript. Kevorkian also possessed sections of a manuscript in a different hand that include much of the missing material as well as a table of contents giving the first hemistich of each poem. This he presented to Muḥammad Qazwīn[ī], who noted that together with the autograph version it had earlier formed part of a single manuscript and that Kevorkian had himself separated the two parts. This manuscript is now in the library of the

- Faculty of Letters, University of Tehran. The edition of the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* made use of both of these, in addition to several other nineteenth-century manuscripts probably deriving from the 1341 one, and, particularly for the poems missing from all these manuscripts but known from the list of contents, of other sources as well.
3. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, p. 837.
 4. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, p. 933. *Basī qaṣida ba-madh-i khassān-i dūn guftam*, reading *khassān* for the *ḥassān* in the edition cited in note 1.
 5. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, I, 1958, p. 2.
 6. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, p. 839.
 7. The North African traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who passed through Lunbān in 1327, also noted the splendor of the mosque. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1980, p. 199, and Gibb, 1962, p. 294, where Gibb makes the suggestion, surely correct, that the name Nablān stands for Lunbān.
 8. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, I, 1958, pp. 59–60; II, 1971, pp. 632–35.
 9. Other sources confirm that the faction fighting of this period in Isfahan was particularly severe, although Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is not necessarily correct in seeing it as a struggle between Sunnis and Shi'ites. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1980, p. 199; Gibb, 1962, p. 295.
 10. *Zayl* . . . , 1971, p. 205.
 11. *Zayl* . . . , 1971, p. 208.
 12. Mu'īn al-Dīn Yazdī, *Mavāhib-i Ilāhī*, I, Sa'īd Nafīsī, ed., Tehran, 1947, p. 144; Maḥmūd Kutubī, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Muẓaffar*, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, ed., Tehran, 1985, p. 47.
 13. Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī, *Zayl-i Tārīkh-i Guzida*, M. D. Kazimov and B. Z. Piriyeu, trans., Baku, 1986, pp. 17, 22.
 14. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 38–41.
 15. The word used is *taḥḥīl*, literally meaning to apply kohl to the eyes—that is, to outline them with it.
 16. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 43–44.
 17. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, p. 41; see p. 331.
 18. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 356–61.
 19. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 45–49.
 20. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 59, 62–63, 66.
 21. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. xix–xxi, 459–63.
 22. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 26, 461; *Al-Awāmīr* . . . , 1956, pp. 70–74; see *Al-Kāmil* . . . , XII, 1966, p. 169.
 23. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 18, 27–28, 38.
 24. *Al-Awāmīr* . . . , 1956, pp. 59–62; *Al-Kāmil* . . . , XII, 1966, pp. 195–96.
 25. *Shāh Ghiyās al-Dīn Kaykhusrau ki yāft* . . .
 26. *Tazkīrat al-shu'arā*, 1901, pp. 154–55; British Library MS. Or. 2,846, f. 144a–b.
 27. *Ṭuḡhril ān kaz haft sulṭān dārad u* . . .
 28. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. xviii, xxv, 57–58, 64–65.
 29. *Nazmī ki zi jabd-i ādamī birān ast, / in ast ki madh-i khusrau-i maymūn ast. / Yak nīma nibishṭa kbwān ki ān nīma digar / az nām-i šuvar ma'navī u mawzūn ast.*
 30. In the previous art-historical publications the nature of the text was not understood.
 31. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, pp. 63, 457–58. This is evidently another instance of imperfect revision.
 32. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* . . . , 1921, p. 57.
 33. *Jamāl-i Naqqāsh-i Isfahānī ān-rā šurat mikard.*
 34. The description calls to mind the illustrated anthology dated 1314–15 in the India Office Library, the miniatures in which give the impression of being based at least partly on an earlier model. See Robinson, 1976, pp. 4–12.
 35. *Tazkīrat al-shu'arā*, 1901, pp. 219–21. See 'A. Khayyampūr, 1961, p. 80; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, "Badr Jājarmī."
 36. For Bahā al-Dīn's appointment see Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh, *Jāmī' al-Tavārikh*, III, 'Abd al-Karīm 'Alīzāda, ed., Baku, 1957, p. 103. The main source for his character is Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, Bombay, 1269/1853, pp. 60–66.
 37. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, I, 1958, pp. 135–37; II, 1971, pp. 824–28, 836.
 38. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, pp. 608, 611–13.
 39. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, p. 836.
 40. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, pp. 822–24, 829–31.
 41. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, pp. 1139–44.
 42. *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, II, 1971, pp. 861–75. Separate manuscripts of this poem also exist.
 43. Ullmann, 1972, pp. 280–81.
 44. Ullmann, 1972, p. 340.
 45. A similar Persian poem, covering the twelve signs but lacking an introduction, is attributed to the thirteenth-century polymath Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.
 46. See the citations in Dihkhudā's *Lughatnāma*, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-ḥarb va al-shajā'a*, A. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, ed. [Tehran], 1346/1967, p. 260.
 47. The edition has *dūsh*, offering no easy meaning. The 1341 manuscript at this place reads *rawshan* but the way the word is written and pointed suggests how *dūsh* arose.
 48. The 1341 manuscript reads *digar*, but grammar and meter require *digarān*, which appears in the edition cited in note 1.
 49. In the 1341 manuscript there follows at this point a panel bearing the Arabic rubric *aydan labu*, "Also by him," which normally introduces a new poem by the same author as the preceding one. The edition does not have a rubric here.
 50. Military men are *abl-i salāh*, literally "people of weapons."
 51. *Kār-i ātish* means "work with fire." Possibly this refers to cautery, resorted to for medical reasons.
 52. Servants are *khādīmān*. Possibly *khādim* is used here in its secondary meaning, "eunuch," in which case they, and the women, would be seen in the context of the slave market. See the similar reference to women under Taurus, above.
 53. The rhyme *kardan/nishāndan* is defective.
 54. The subterranean aqueducts commonly used for irrigation on the Iranian plateau. The poet uses the alternative term *kāriz*.
 55. In the 1341 manuscript no rubric separates this poem from the preceding one. The edition gives the rubric *aydan labu fi al-taṣannu'*, "By the same author, with [the same ?] artifice," presumably referring either to the verbal structure of the poem or to the conceit of illustrating it.



The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Small *Shāhnāma*

MARIE LUKENS SWIETOCHOWSKI

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's fourteenth-century *Shāhnāma* manuscript, which became the property of the Department of Islamic Art in 1974 as part of the bequest of Monroe C. Gutman of New York, has been known to the art-historical world at least since 1914. In that year it was published by its then owner, Ph. Walter Schulz of Leipzig, with twenty-six of the forty-one extant miniatures illustrated, three of them in color.¹ It has frequently been referred to since as the Schulz *Shāhnāma*. After Schulz it was owned by Professor O. Moll of Düsseldorf and it belonged to the Gutmans by 1929, when Mrs. Gutman lent a few of its leaves to the Metropolitan Museum. In 1953 Mr. Gutman lent fourteen paintings to the Museum, and by 1966 the Museum had photographed all of the miniatures.

Although the manuscript is damaged and defective, unlike the other extant Small *Shāhnāma* manuscripts, no missing leaves from it have appeared in other collections or on the art market. Despite the damage to many of the miniatures and the subsequent touching up particularly to blue or red backgrounds, the lively compositions, bold drawing, and strong and varied palette are readily evident, and separate this manuscript completely from the other Small *Shāhnāmas*, in spite of their having been frequently lumped together in the past. Since the colophon is missing no concrete evidence exists for a date and place of production, although on stylistic grounds a date between 1330 and 1340 can be posited—at least three decades later than the other small

manuscripts of the epic, if a date of about 1300 is accepted for them. The dating and possible place of production of the Gutman manuscript will be discussed below.

The style of the paintings in this manuscript can be summarized briefly. The figures have solid stocky bodies with disproportionately large roundish heads. The characters seem to interact with each other in a lively way and appear to be attentive even when there is no action. The figures when standing generally fill the picture space, which is horizontal and corresponds in width to the text area, and tend to be placed on or close to the groundline, although they are not rigidly lined up. Some overlap or are placed behind others to suggest depth. This device is effective in conveying the close encounters in battle scenes. The drawing of horses is particularly lively and imparts the illusion of real movement.

Costumes, as in other illustrations of the period, display either folds or patterns. Folds, although simplified, sometimes indicate the form beneath. Patterns on costumes vary from a rather simple leaf motif in offset rows, either in a cloud shape or with an uneven contour that can vary in scale on different costumes, to more elaborate designs of crisply drawn flowers and leaves influenced by Chinese art, or very dense Chinese-influenced foliage, usually in gold. The figures wear crowns or a variety of Mongol caps, such as one topped by owl and eagle feathers, one with a wide turned-up brim with a curving contour, one with a brim wider at the back and thinner and projecting at the front, and a small cap with an even

turned-up brim decorated with flowers or leaves. This last seems to be unique to this manuscript. The few turbans are of the Arab type, with a piece of cloth extending down under the chin. All figures are dressed in short-sleeved surcoats over long-sleeved, long-skirted robes, and black boots. Warriors wear short-sleeved cuirasses over their robes, some with a pattern of dots resembling fine-meshed mail, some with a chain link pattern, and some with geometric patterns similar to those found on thrones or architecture. Rustam has his tiger skin. Helmets are generally vertically fluted or have a design of two rings separated by a vertical line and almost all have a straight finial; a few have earflaps, but most have fine-meshed chain mail covering all but the face and encircling the neck. Weapons consist of a deeply curved bow and long arrows; a sword, ordinarily slightly curved, but also straight with a swelling blade; an ox-headed mace; a flanged mace; and a lasso.

In the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, illustrations of outdoor scenes may have tufts of grass scattered over the ground and a little half circle of cloud in the top center, or there may be a foreground plane or planes with an uneven outline. Mountains are roughly cone shaped, with double outlines, oval rocks strewn on their surface, and wash colors after Chinese prototypes, perhaps sifted through Central Asia. Some flowering plants are disproportionately large, usually with yellow ocher or occasionally olive green-colored leaves. Trees can have knobby or smooth outlines or can be straight or wildly curved; they usually have a split trunk that can be a dark reddish brown or a pale gray and a variety of impressionistically treated thick and often spreading foliage with leaves generally darker at the edges; and some are based on Chinese prototypes. Architecture is used sparingly and usually takes the form of an arched and crenelated gateway. Thrones and seats are simple, and no trays or tables with serving objects are shown.

The background colors of these pages are gold, red, dark blue with gold dots, and white. Otherwise colors range from a distinctive blue lighter than the ground color, mauve, yellow ocher, burnt umber,

burnt orange, green, gray-green, red, purplish red, white, purple, red-brown, beige, beige-yellow, black, gray, and gold, to the unpainted paper used as a pigment.

Not all of the distinctive characteristics of the paintings in this manuscript are found elsewhere in fourteenth-century works on paper. However, the two groups of paintings closest to this manuscript stylistically are fifteen illustrations from a *Shāhnāma* mounted without text in the Diez Album in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—seven of which were published by Ipşiroğlu in *Saray-Alben*²—and the dispersed illustrations from the manuscript of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, dated A.H. 741/A.D. 1341 and made in Isfahan, which are illustrated in the present volume. The Diez Album leaves are considerably larger than the Museum's *Shāhnāma* illustrations: about 19.4 centimeters wide, although with variations, as opposed to 10.7 for those in the Museum's manuscript. The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* paintings are only slightly larger. The Diez Album paintings all have a red ground, while those in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* either have a red background—the majority—or else the paper was left unpainted. In the Museum's *Shāhnāma*, of the forty-one illustrations (on forty leaves) fourteen are on a gold ground; fourteen on a red ground; seven on a dark blue ground with minute gold dots in groups of three; five on a white ground; and one with the interior ground gold and the exterior one dark blue. On occasion the unpainted paper serves as a color, but not for the background. The background color in all three groups of paintings must sometimes be considered ground because plants grow on it; sometimes it represents sky, as behind mountains; while at other times it is ambiguous and could be either ground, sky, or a merging of the two. In all three groups of paintings the format of the miniatures is a horizontal band that extends the full width of the text in the two that have texts; however, eleven of the Museum's forty-one *Shāhnāma* illustrations are in a stepped format.

The difficulty in discussing the similarities and disparities among these three groups of paintings is that only one of the seven illustrations from the



Figures 13 and 14. The Combat of Suhrāb and Gurdāfrīd (above) and Suhrāb Unhorses Hajīl (below). Illustrations from a *Shāhnāma* (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 42). Probably Isfahan, Ilkhanid period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Diez Album corresponds with one in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, while in a poetic anthology the nature of the illustrations is very different from those required by an epic. Fortunately, the double-page frontispiece of the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, particularly the right half—hitherto unpublished—with its hunting scenes in horizontal format (originally in three registers, but now with only the bottom and most of the middle one intact and the top missing; see cat. no. 1 for both halves of the frontispiece), more easily lends itself to comparisons with the two sets of epic illustrations, and leaves little doubt as to the close links among all three. The similarity of the palettes is striking, with the generous use of mauve, a soft smoky blue, a gray to olive green, a distinctive shade of red, white, yellow ocher, and gold, with a deep blue found in the Gutman pages and the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* frontispiece. The finger shapes of the mountains in the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* hunting scenes, with their interior shading and rounded scattered stones, are virtually identical to those in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*

illustrations—as, for example, in catalogue numbers 13 and 39, while the gold outlining of the hills also occurs in the Diez Album leaves. The positions of the legs of the galloping horses in the frontispiece are exactly the same as those of the galloping horses, similarly shaped and drawn, in the two sets of epic pictures—as in catalogue numbers 21 and 25 among others and in the Diez Album (see figs. 13 and 14). The Diez Album horses also have the same vertically placed heads tapering to the muzzles as the horses in the frontispiece of the anthology. The Gutman horses' necks are often more strongly arched. The pattern of the huntsman's costume in the lower register of the poetic anthology's frontispiece, made up of unevenly circular leaves, can also be found in the Gutman illustrations, as on the right-hand figure in catalogue number 9. In the left half of the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*'s frontispiece the enthroned male figure is seated in a position very close, indeed, to an enthroned ruler in a Gutman *Shāhnāma* illustration (cat. no. 28), with his left hand resting on his knee and his right



Figure 15. Kaykhusrau Executes Afrāsiyāb. Illustration from a *Shāhnāma* (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 11). Probably Isfahan, Īlkhānīd period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung



Figure 16. Farūd, before His Fortress on the Mountaintop, with His Counselor Tūkhār, Has Just Slain Rīvnīz (or Zarāsp). Illustration from a *Shāhnāma* (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 29). Probably Isfahan, Īlkhānīd period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

arm bent at the elbow and extending out toward the right. Finally, the decoration of gold flowers on a dark blue ground seen flanking cartouches in the bands on the page with the dedicatory roundel and the opening illuminated pages of the *Mun'is al-aḥrār* manuscript is also found in the Gutman *Shāhnāma* and in the Diez Album; see, for example, catalogue number 44 and figure 15.

With regard to the epics, in the one scene that is illustrated on both a Diez and Gutman page, the execution of Afrāsiyāb, the similarities cannot be dismissed. In both pictures the prisoner is seated on the ground with his left leg tucked under him and his right stretched out in front, his arms tied behind his back, wearing only a white pajama-like undergarment. Also in both paintings, the pose of the figure

behind the prisoner, with a bent raised right knee, is identical, although details of clothing differ. While there is a semicircular shape above the central figures in each scene, in one it is a cloud and in the other the foliage of a tree. The Diez page has been cropped (it measures only 11.3 cm.), but probably once had the same number of figures as the Gutman picture. The flowered robes are similar in both, but closest in, for example, the robe of the central princess in “Mihrān Sitād Chooses a Daughter of the Khāqān of Chīn” (cat. no. 44). In each of these scenes a large lotus decorates the costume in the middle of the torso and a dianthus-like flower adorns the lower right. The treatment of the foliage of the tree in the album, thickly overlapping and

with darker edging of individual leaves, is also found in the Gutman manuscript, in catalogue numbers 39 and 41. In shape the leaves in this last miniature are similar to those of the *Shāhnāma* in the Diez Album (see fig. 16).

The Gutman *Shāhnāma*, the *Mu’nis al-aḥrār*, and the Diez Album epic illustrations all have one picturing a *simurgh* (see cat. nos. 8, 34). In none of them is it patterned on the Chinese fēng huang, or phoenix; as are the *simurghs* in the First or Second Small *Shāhnāmas* (see fig. 25). They are rather based on a rooster, with wattles, a parrot-like beak, and a protruding head feather or feathers. The tail of the *simurgh* in the Diez Album (fig. 17) does not show in the illustration, but in its head, stance, and the



Figure 17. The Birth of Rustam. Illustration from a *Shāhnāma* (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 7). Probably Isfahan, Ilkhānid period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

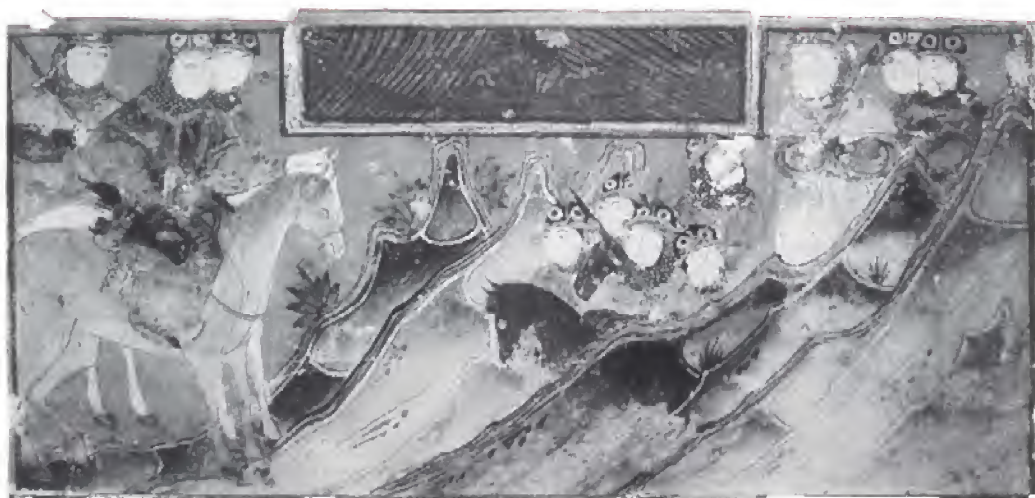


Figure 18. Hajr Attempts to Identify for Suhrāb His Father, Rustam (?). Illustration from a *Shāhnāma* manuscript (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 7). Probably Isfahan, Ilkhānid period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

streaky treatment of feathers it is remarkably close to the one on The Cleveland Museum of Art's *Mu'nis al-ahrār* page (see cat. no. 3 f). In this picture the bird has a straight squared-off tail, unlike the longer curled version of the bird seen in its nest with Zāl (cat. no. 8) in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*. The other *simurgh* illustrated in this manuscript also has the wattles of a rooster, although its head is partly obscured by Isfandiyār's sword. Its tail is again elongated but lacks the many ribbon-like strands of that of the phoenix (see cat. no. 34).

Another specific similarity in the three groups of paintings is to be found in the helmet type that has two rings divided by a vertical (see, for example, cat. nos. 10, 11, and 14; figs. 13, 14, and 18). Most helmets in both *Shāhnāmas* have chain mail to protect the head and neck, leaving the face free. The *Mu'nis al-ahrār* helmet has an aventail so that only the space for the eyes is uncovered (see cat. no. 4 d). There is one instance of an aventail in the Diez Album (see fig. 13) and one in the Gutman manuscript (see cat. no. 19: the figure to the far right). It does not appear in any of the other Small *Shāhnāma* miniatures, but can be found in the so-called Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma*, which we believe to be roughly contemporary with the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.³ In the same *Mu'nis al-ahrār* illustration of the helmet, a shield with a radiating pattern is depicted along with a clear rendition of the cane from which it was made. A cane shield with a radiating pattern like this one is also found in the Gutman manuscript in "The Combat of Tūs and Hūmān" and "The Combat of Rustam and Kāfūr" (see cat. nos. 18 and 21). In the illustrations from the Diez Album published in *Saray-Alben* there are no shields.

In another illustration on the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* page just discussed there is an ox-headed mace whose shaft curves out almost in a semicircle at the top (see cat. no. 4 e). The ears and horns of the ox are clearly drawn. A mace of similar form is found in three miniatures in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, but there the ox has no horns (see cat. nos. 10, 16, and 20). In the Persian epic this type of mace is a reminder of the hero-king Farīdūn and the cow Birmāya who

nursed him. No maces are illustrated in the Diez Album leaves pictured in *Saray-Alben* (see Ipşiroğlu, 1964). In the middle of the anthology illustration in which the mace is pictured there is a weapon with a cylindrical, stout-looking shaft curling over at the end, identified as a *nācbakh* in the text (see Morton's commentary no. 19, p. 61). The exact same implement or weapon is carried by the stud "manager" in the Gutman illustration of Rustam catching his horse (see cat. no. 12).

There is an illustration in the Museum's copy of the epic in which the hero Isfandiyār has just killed a lioness and is about to kill her mate (see cat. no. 31). Regrettably, the picture is rather rubbed and faded, but nonetheless so sympathetically rendered that one shares the lioness's pain and defeat as she collapses from the sword thrust and the lion's courage and defiance as it looks back over its shoulder at the scene. The tail of the lion representing Leo in the poetic anthology (see cat. no. 5 e) curves over its back like the lion's tail in the epic and both lions have a little patch of fur jutting under the chin as well as the same decorative pattern in their manes. The representation of Leo, however, lacks the naturalistic form and impression of nobility of the other lion and also anachronistically exaggerates the differentiation of the fur of the stomach and rear end from the fur on the rest of its body.

Horses in the Museum's *Shāhnāma* and on the Diez Album pages are generally very similar—as, for example, the horse in the left foreground of "The Combat of Tūs and Hūmān" (see cat. no. 18 and fig. 14) in which the color, form, and movement are identical. Incidentally, the chain link pattern of the cuirass of the Diez Album horseman is found on several warriors in the Gutman *Shāhnāma* (see cat. nos. 18, 25, 26, 27, and 35). In the Gutman manuscript the horses toss their heads and arch their necks to a greater extent, but there are also more miniatures in which to vary a theme. In both manuscripts, the horses give an impression of solidity and strength, very different from the little Īlkhānid ponies of the Small *Shāhnāmas*. The only horse in a *Mu'nis al-ahrār* painting (other than the frontispiece) is drawn with

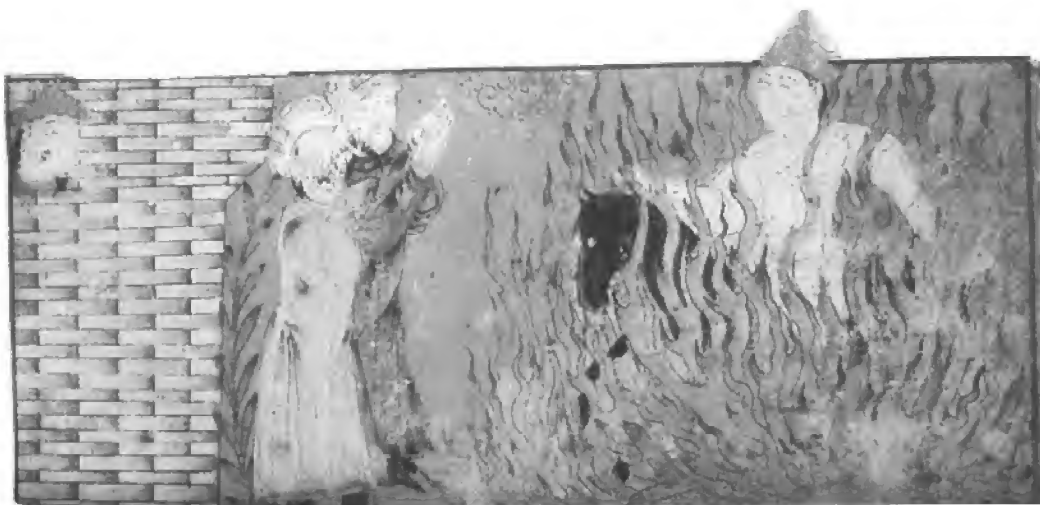


Figure 19. The Fire Ordeal of Siyāvush. Illustration from a *Shāhnāma* manuscript (Diez Album, Fol. 71, S. 30). Probably Isfahan, Ilkhanid period, about 1335. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

a narrow muzzle very similar to some of the Diez Album horses (cat. no. 2f and figs. 13, 14, and 18).

Two of the seven Diez Album *Shāhnāma* illustrations show structures with brick walls shaded in a manner that resembles a basket weave (fig. 19). The wall behind the well in the Aquarius picture in the poetic anthology (see cat. no. 5f) is handled in exactly the same way, as is a wall on a Gutman page (cat. no. 16), although in this last case less clearly. As to landscape elements, the little plants and grass tufts scattered over the ground in several Gutman *Shāhnāma* paintings (see cat. nos. 9, 10, 20, 26, 33, and 41) are also found in the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* and the Diez Album miniatures, yet here these same small tufts appear tucked away along mountain ridges. The Diez Album illustrations are dramatic in the sweep of mountains depicted, derived from Central Asian paintings, like those in the Gutman manuscript, but grander, and edged with gold. One strikingly similar landscape detail in both a Gutman *Shāhnāma* and a *Mu'nis al-ahrār* miniature is a lava-like rock borrowed from Chinese landscape painting with a central hole through which foliage grows (see cat. nos. 37 and 4b, respectively). This motif is not found in the Small *Shāhnāmas*.

Figure types, costumes, the treatment of folds, and patterns on fabrics are closely related in the two manuscripts and album pages under discussion. Most stylized are the regular light lines indicating the folds of the robes of the Moon figures in the poetic an-

thology, but they are certainly very close to those on the robe of Sām in the birth of Rustam scene in the Diez Album (see cat. nos. 6b, d, and f and fig. 17), as is the bunching of the folds of the robes of the standing figures in "The Fire Ordeal of Siyāvush" and the robes of many Gutman figures (as random examples see cat. nos. 9 and 27 and fig. 19).

Lastly, mention must be made of the comparable palettes. That of the Gutman *Shāhnāma* is the richest but, as pointed out before, this manuscript has by far the most paintings. There are no colors found on either the Diez Album pages or on those of the poetic anthology that do not appear in the Gutman miniatures. All three groups of paintings abundantly display a mauve that is often placed against a red ground. In the two *Shāhnāmas* an unusual smoky blue is used for helmets, armor, and mountains, in addition to a dark blue. The Diez Album contains more olive green and the Gutman manuscript more yellow ocher, while the anthology is in between. All contain gold, but the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* has the least and the Gutman the most.

It is clear that there is a close relationship between the illustrations in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, the Diez Album *Shāhnāma*, and the *Mu'nis al-ahrār*, although they are not identical. It is also clear that they are quite distinct from the Small *Shāhnāma* miniatures, with their pastel shades, delicate Ilkhanid-looking figures, small steppe ponies, a grass line along the base, and foliage with each abstract leaf



Figure 20. Bahrām Gūr and Āzāda. Leaf from a dispersed *Shahnama* manuscript dated A.H. 753/A.D. 1352. Shiraz, Injū'id period. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1957 (57.51.32)



Figure 21. Rustam Discourses with Isfandiār. Leaf from a dispersed *Shahnama* manuscript dated A.H. 731/A.D. 1341. Shiraz, Injū'id period. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection. Gift of Horace Havemeyer, 1929 (29.160.21)

separated from the next. Since the earlier manuscripts had already adapted the convention of the *sīmurgh* as the Chinese phoenix, it can be surmised that the later paintings were made in a more culturally provincial center or centers. Before taking this matter further, the influence of the Īnjū'id school of Shiraz must be looked into and parallels with the Great Īl-khānid *Shāhnāma*, if any, mentioned.

The Īnjū'id school of Shiraz is the most clearly defined of any in the fourteenth century since the painting style of its illustrated manuscripts is stylistically consistent, if varying in quality, and a number of the manuscripts are dated. The association of the school with Shiraz comes from the dedication on an illuminated manuscript leaf to the chief vizier of the Īnjū'id dynasty, which ruled in Shiraz during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The other half of the double-page leaf gives the date of A.H. Ramadan 741, or A.D. February 1341. The *Shāhnāma* manuscript to which the dedication belongs is dispersed and seven of its leaves are in the Museum's collection (figs. 21, 22, and 26; MMA, 36.113.1, 3, 57.51.35, 36). There are three other dated *Shāhnāma* manuscripts by this school: one dated 731/1330, in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul (Hazine 1479); one in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (ex-Dorn 329); and one, now dispersed, with a rosette halfway through it dated 753/1352, and written no earlier than the Safavid period.⁴ The Metropolitan Museum owns one leaf from this manuscript (fig. 20).

The style of Īnjū'id painting has been described often and so it will only be briefly touched on here. The paintings are on red, yellow ocher, or plain-paper backgrounds. The drawing is sketchy to the point of crudeness, the pigments are thin, and the palette limited. There are few unessential details; the action scenes are dynamic; the figures appear tall and moderately slim, often with long faces, and give the impression of monumentality; the essentially horizontal layout is frequently stepped; and in spite of a certain carelessness of finish, the paintings tend to have a freshness and vigor that give them their considerable appeal. The combination of these

characteristics has led to the suggestion that they were influenced by a tradition of wall painting.

The Īnjū'id style stands alone and while it is quite different from that of the groups of paintings discussed above, it must be acknowledged that it is closer to their style than to that of any other schools of the first half of the fourteenth century. This might be due to geographical factors and similar time frames, and will be summarized in the conclusion of the essay.

In comparing Īnjū'id painting with the style of the Gutman manuscript we will confine ourselves for the most part to leaves in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. The most obvious similarities are in palette. While the Īnjū'id *Shāhnāmas'* range of pigments is far more limited than that of the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, no colors are used in the Īnjū'id paintings that do not appear in the other manuscript. Several of the Īnjū'id leaves are confined to as few as seven colors. The shades that predominate are red and a yellow ocher that varies in tone. Other colors used are gray, black, white, red-brown, a smoky blue and a deep blue, olive green, a burnt orange that can pale to almost beige, orange, a mauve that slips into lavender or shades of pink, burnt umber, and gold—all, except the red, yellow, black, and gray, rather sparingly applied.

The next most obvious correspondence between the Gutman manuscript and those of the Īnjū'id school is the treatment of mountains. However, in the Īnjū'id paintings they are more regularly triangular, often overlapping, and with parallel lines forming interior triangles (see figs. 26 and 20, respectively). They are also closer to Central Asian prototypes.⁵ In both groups standards protrude into the upper margin (for an Īnjū'id example see fig. 27). Otherwise, the Gutman miniatures are the only ones so far discussed that sometimes cross over into margin or even text areas. Similar plants and trees can be found in both *Shāhnāmas*, but with less variety in the Īnjū'id paintings, where there are few large flower heads and fewer types of leaves on the trees, which also lack the darker outlining so distinctive in the other *Shāhnāma*. Occasionally there is a shared fabric design,



Figure 22. Bizhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irmān. Leaf from a dispersed *Shāhnāma* manuscript dated A.H. 731/A.D. 1341. Shiraz, Īnjū'īd period. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Gift of Horace Havemeyer, 1929 (29.160.22)

such as the cloud-like leaves; sometimes there are just rough circles on the Īnjū'īd pages, or the illustration may have a pattern of dense lotuses and other Chinese-derived flowers. There is an instance of a geometric pattern on a robe usually found only on architecture or furniture that matches one on a cuirass on a Gutman page (see fig. 21 and cat. no. 9). The armor in the Īnjū'īd paintings is quite different from its treatment in the Gutman illustrations in that it is made up of horizontal rows with rectangular vertical links (as in fig. 22).

The only subject in common between the Gutman manuscript and the Museum's 1341 Īnjū'īd *Shāhnāma* is the illustration "Bizhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irmān" (see cat. no. 24 and fig. 22). The Museum also owns a version of this scene from the First Small *Shāhnāma* (fig. 23). In the Small *Shāhnāma* illustration Bizhan is placed in the center of the composition. He rides an Īlkhānīd pony and is not dressed in armor, but wears a long robe with short sleeves and with a gold floral pattern over a long-sleeved robe, and a turned-up split-brim Īlkhānīd cap. A tree

with a thin trunk and whose foliage is composed of a pattern of separate leaves like those in thirteenth-century paintings is in front of, and another behind, his horse. A slain boar, lying vertically, takes up the right side of the composition. Bizhan turns in his saddle to slash the boar who is behind him among the reeds at the lower left. A slain boar also lies on its back above. The ground is gold. The drawing is delicate and sure.

In the Īnjū'īd painting from the 1341 manuscript, Bizhan, wearing a helmet and armor, rides a large horse covered with protective armor. Horse and rider are placed at the right of the composition with five boars moving toward them across the rest of the area of illustration. Bizhan is striking the boar in the middle foreground with his sword. The boars appear menacing but the monumental figures of horse and hero seem adequate for the task (see fig. 22). A tree with a thin trunk and overlapping elongated oval leaves is at the right margin. A roughly reed-like plant, a little left of center, grows from the base line to the top of the picture. In neither this nor the



Figure 23. Bīzhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irmān. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.68.1)

Small *Shāhnāma* is there a groundline. Here the ground is red.

In the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, contrary to the text of the epic, Bīzhan has dismounted and is standing on the ground (see cat. no. 24). This miniature is not alone in the manuscript in its carelessness toward textual accuracy. The forequarters of Bīzhan's horse appear at the right margin directly behind the hero. Bīzhan wears a fluted helmet with the usual head and neck protection, quite unlike the helmet and earflaps found in the Īnjū'id painting. His cuirass is also of a quite different type, with a mesh of fine links as opposed to the horizontal rows separating the rectangular plates of that of the Īnjū'id warrior. The pleated robe that shows beneath the cuirass appears unique to this manuscript. A tree grows in front of the hero, then curves behind him, indicating spatial depth. Its thick spreading foliage resembles dark-tipped palmettos. Two boars, one partly behind and above the other (again suggesting spatial depth, which is completely absent on the Īnjū'id page), charge Bīzhan, who slashes the foreground boar with

a sword as they emerge from a thicket of reeds and shrubs in the midst of which a third boar is seen galloping away. The ground is red, with a plant at the upper center. There is an uneven foreground plane derived from Chinese models. Stylistically, this miniature falls between the other two, but it is closer to the Īnjū'id painting in the vigor conveyed by the figure and animals. Its drawing is more adept than that of the Īnjū'id painting while its composition is more complex and its feeling for space more sophisticated than either of the other two. Iconographically, it stands alone. In comparing the three paintings, it is clear that they belong to separate schools: that the Small *Shāhnāma* is the earliest, and that the Gutman painting is relatively close in date to the Īnjū'id painting of 1341, but seemingly geographically (or politically) removed enough for its own iconography to have developed.

The Gutman *Shāhnāma* has never been considered a product of the court school of the Īlkhānid dynasty, with its capital at Tabriz, and has little in common stylistically with the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* cited

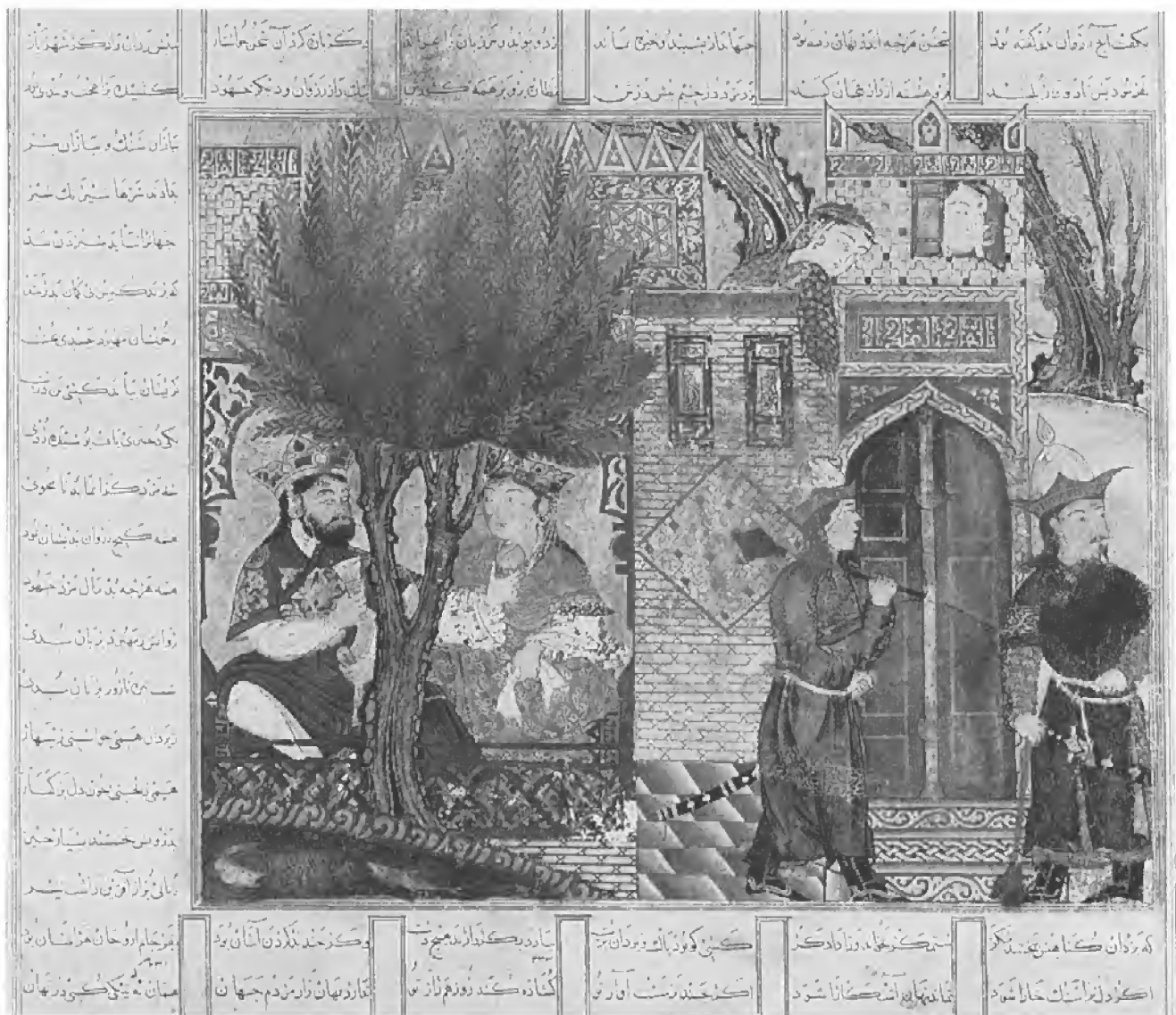


Figure 24. Nūshīrvān at the House of Mahbūd. Leaf from the dispersed Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Probably Tabriz, Īlkhānid period, 1330–35. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 (52.20.2)

above.⁶ However, certain similarities in details of architecture, armor, and dress suggest that the two works might be contemporary. For example, the fashion in architecture under the Īlkhānids of inserting a square panel, set on one corner, into a brick wall is found in a miniature in the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* in the Metropolitan Museum (see fig. 24). The same element appears on one of the few buildings depicted in the Gutman pages (see cat. no. 16).

In the court *Shāhnāma* many helmets are fluted and there is armor to protect the neck (see Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 4), as in the Gutman miniatures, al-

though in the former one long earflap protects the side of the head. Both manuscripts include a painting that shows a helmet with an aventail, which leaves only the eyes visible (see cat. no. 19; and Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 41). This representation seems to appear only in these two manuscripts, and, as cited above (p. 72), in a painting in the *Mu'nis al-ahrār* and in the Diez Album. Another fashion in dress found in both the Great and the Gutman *Shāhnāmas* is the side slit in the short-sleeved long outer robe worn over a rather full long-sleeved under robe (for example, see cat. nos. 28, and 43–45; Grabar and Blair,

1980, nos. 11, 13, 18). The ladies in the illustration of "Sindukht Becomes Aware of Rūdāba's Actions" in the court *Shāhnāma* (Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 10) wear a transparent veil covering the head and shoulders, tied with a fillet under the chin, which is echoed exactly by that of the sorceress in a "beautiful maiden" guise in her encounter with Isfandiyār in the Gutman illustration (cat. no. 33).

In the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma*, in a scene showing an enthroned king dictating a letter, two of the three turbaned figures wear Arab turbans, one of which is decorated with patterned bands (Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 57) similar to that worn by the figure talking to the enthroned ruler on a Gutman leaf (see cat. no. 28). In another scene in the court manuscript an enthroned ruler is in conversation with his adviser whose turban has extra-narrow bands on the outside (Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 44)—an unusual feature that, however, is duplicated on the turban of the vizier demonstrating the game of chess before the enthroned ruler in a Gutman *Shāhnāma* illustration (cat. no. 45). In still a third scene, in the Great Īlkhānid manuscript, of an enthroned ruler with some attendant turbaned figures, one turban worn by a young man at the left has a distinctive set of folds (Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 1) that are echoed in a simplified manner in the only turban in another Gutman enthroned-ruler scene (see cat. no. 9).

One last specific comparison between the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* and the Gutman *Shāhnāma* is the similar way in which a pine tree is depicted in a painting in both manuscripts—impressionistically and with spreading branches, albeit with more sophistication in the court work (see cat. no. 12; and Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 42). An impressionistic pine tree also appears in another picture in the court manuscript, but much of it is hidden by a large cloud at the top center (Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 20). We have noted previously the many clouds that fill in the upper centers of Gutman illustrations (see cat. nos. 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 26, 27, and 40). A convention found in the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma*, in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, and in the 1341 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma*, as well as in other Īnjū'id manuscripts, is the clouds of

dust stirred up in battle scenes (see cat. nos. 11, 19, and 48; and Grabar and Blair, 1980, nos. 31, 25, respectively).⁷

These comparisons are not, it should be said, meant to equate the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* with the Gutman, but only to suggest a roughly comparable dating. In his study of the former, Oleg Grabar has proposed that the manuscript was made for the Īlkhānid vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn in Tabriz, between November 1335 and his death on May 3, 1336.⁸

In trying to determine a time and place for the production of the Gutman *Shāhnāma*, a summary of the opinions of the scholars who have published remarks on the manuscript should be reviewed. As previously mentioned, in the first decades of this century art historians tended to lump together most of the early-fourteenth-century material. When Ernst Kühnel published his article in *The Survey of Persian Art* in 1939 this was still the case.⁹ By the time *Persian Painting* by Basil Gray was published in 1961, styles had been differentiated. Gray summarizes the history of the Īnjū'id school of Shiraz.¹⁰ He then turns to the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* and, while admitting that it displays much finer draftsmanship than the Shiraz paintings, proposes that court artists from Tabriz may have migrated to Shiraz, upgrading the work of that school. He goes on to speculate about the existence of a school in Isfahan to which Richard Ettinghausen had suggested all the Small *Shāhnāmas* might have belonged.¹¹ (When—a little later in the 1960s—I asked Dr. Ettinghausen about this, he replied that he had suggested no such thing and that Basil Gray had misunderstood him.)

Ernst Grube has perhaps written more about both the Gutman *Shāhnāma* and the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* than any historian of Islamic art until now. In his exhibition catalogue *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century*, published in 1962, Grube wrote, with regard to the Gutman (then the Schulz) *Shāhnāma*, "The paintings of this manuscript must be considered the finest products of the Īnjū School," adding that the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* is the only Īnjū'id manuscript that could possibly surpass them.¹² In the Kraus catalogue, published in 1972, in discussing an illustration

from the First Small *Shāhnāma*, Grube wrote that these manuscripts have been dated to about 1330–40 “on the basis of their similarity to the paintings in a dispersed copy of the *Mu’nis al-aḥrār*, made in 1341. As this manuscript has always been attributed to Shiraz . . .” so, too, were the Small *Shāhnāmas*. He goes on to say that since the *Mu’nis al-aḥrār* and Small *Shāhnāma* manuscripts are “totally different” from the Īnjū’id they cannot have been made in Shiraz. He then cites Douglas Barrett’s proposal of Baghdad as the possible site of “this style.”¹³ Here Grube has failed to see that the Small *Shāhnāmas* are even more “totally different” from the *Mu’nis al-aḥrār* than they are from paintings of the Īnjū’id school and are, indeed, considerably earlier.

In 1976 the catalogue of the Keir Collection was published. In his entry in that catalogue on Small *Shāhnāma* leaves, B. W. Robinson first makes the “hypothetical suggestion” that they are Indian, a theory of which he has since become convinced.¹⁴ This issue will not be discussed here but will be taken up below with regard to the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.

In a research report on fourteenth-century Persian painting written by Ernst Grube in 1978, he reiterates the similarity of the Small *Shāhnāmas* to the *Mu’nis al-aḥrār* and states that while the place of production is still unknown, a like date can be surmised. Here he includes the Diez Album *Shāhnāma* with the group, but does not mention the Schulz/Gutman *Shāhnāma*. However, he also adds the Freer Tabari to the school, although it is unmistakably an Īnjū’id manuscript.¹⁵

A very thorough study of the Freer and First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas* has been made by Marianna Shreve Simpson, who assigns their production to Baghdad in about 1300. Her dating is convincing and, while some of her arguments for Baghdad seem questionable, it is still a reasonable suggestion.¹⁶ At the beginning of her book Simpson states that she is omitting the Schulz/Gutman *Shāhnāma* from her scrutiny of small early-fourteenth-century manuscripts because of its physical state and the difficulty of reconstructing it. She does not mention that stylistically it is quite unrelated to the manuscripts in her

study.¹⁷ Happily Tomoko Masuya has undertaken, with remarkable success, the monumental and arduous task of reconstructing the Gutman manuscript (see below).

Before the internal evidence provided by Muḥammad ibn Badr al-Dīn Jājarmī in his *Mu’nis al-aḥrār*, and elucidated for the first time in this publication by A. H. Morton, that the manuscript was made in Isfahan, I believed that it might be a product of Sultanate India. Stuart Cary Welch was the first art historian to suggest an Indian provenance.¹⁸ There are many reasons for this suggestion, which apply equally to the Gutman *Shāhnāma* and the Diez Album *Shāhnāma*. It is known from contemporary sources that illustrated manuscripts were made in the Delhi Sultanate in the fourteenth century, although not one with a secure attribution has survived or even been found. Later manuscripts made for Muslim courts in India have been much influenced by Persian painting, borrowed from it, or been dependent upon it. The Gutman *Shāhnāma*, particularly, has elements that appear in later Indian painting. There is not space here to do more than touch on them. The blue backgrounds with clusters of gold dots can be seen in Rajput painting, while white grounds, and grounds of the same shade of red, can also be found in Indian painting. The juxtaposition of certain colors, such as mauve against red, is also popular in Indian painting. The exaggerated spread of tree foliage and some of the leaf shapes, as well as the excessively curved trunks, the outsized plants with large flowers, and the cloud forms, all have their parallels in Indian painting. Even the stocky figure type with an overly large head can be seen in painting on the subcontinent, but most of all one can discern there the same robust, earthy vigor that is the hallmark of these paintings. However, we are presently in a position to know that certain characteristics of later Indian painting hark back once again to Persian prototypes, and at this point an Indian attribution for the group of manuscripts should be abandoned.

We have evidence now to reach a conclusion as to where the Gutman *Shāhnāma* was made and when. If it is accepted—and it would be hard to argue

otherwise—that the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* was produced in Lunbān, a quarter or suburb of Isfahan, then it seems reasonable that the Gutman *Shāhnāma* and the Diez Album *Shāhnāma* leaves can also be assigned to Isfahan, for, stylistically, the group belongs together. As to the date, it appears very unlikely that two illustrated manuscripts of the national epic (presuming that the Diez Album paintings were intended for a manuscript, were copied from a manuscript for use in an album, or were models to be copied into manuscripts) should have been commissioned in Isfahan between A.H. 736 and 741 (A.D. 1335–36 and 1341)—that is, the years between the deaths of Abū Saʿīd and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and the completion of the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*. Morton informs us that Muḥammad Jārmī notes that he had lived a stable and contented life in Isfahan until the deaths of the Ilkhānid ruler and his vizier: “Justice and order had prevailed until then, but a group of rogues, rascals, murderers, and thieves had since brought ruin upon the town and district of Isfahan” (see Morton, p. 50). If the time of disorder lasted approximately five years, as we are told, and if even by 1341 Muḥammad Jārmī had no patron but wrote his anthology, encouraged by friends, in his own hand and probably illustrated it also, it seems very unlikely that an Isfahan painting school existed after A.H. 736, the spring of A.D. 1336. Yet, the *Shāhnāma* paintings cannot be very far in date from that of the anthology, so a proposed date for them would be about 1335, when Isfahan was still prosperous. This date would also explain the slightly more sophisticated nature of the *Shāhnāmas* and their more lavish use of gold. That a school of painting once existed in Isfahan can be inferred from the slightly variant nature of the two epics and the anthology, negating any suggestion of a single artist. Perhaps the Gutman *Shāhnāma* was commissioned by a member of a prominent Isfahan family, such as that of Jamāl al-Dīn Lunbānī, the only patron referred to by Muḥammad Jārmī, who deplores the former’s violent death in April 1337 (see Morton, p. 50), or

perhaps it was made for a representative of the Ilkhānid dynasty in Isfahan, which, as mentioned, was a flourishing and peaceful city until A.H. 736/A.D. 1335–36.

1. Schulz, 1914, vol. 1, pp. 74–75, vol. 2, plates 14–18.
2. Ipşiroğlu, 1964, pp. 1–7, colorplates 1–3. When I saw the Diez Album paintings in Berlin many years ago, they were pasted on heavy paper and it was impossible to tell whether or not there was any text on the reverse sides. However, in a letter dated August 26, 1993, Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel of the Orientabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin informed me that there is no text on the backs of the miniatures. While the implications of this information are puzzling, this does not alter the stylistic relationship of the pictures in the epic with those in the Museum’s epic and the poetic anthology.
3. Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 41, p. 138.
4. Robinson, 1953, no. XIII. For a list of fourteenth-century illustrated manuscripts, see Simpson, 1979, Appendix I.
5. Bussagli, 1963, pl. p. 109, a ninth–tenth-century wall painting from Bāzāklik.
6. Grabar and Blair, 1980.
7. Rogers, 1986, no. 34: from Hazine 1479, dated Ṣafar 731/November 1330.
8. Grabar and Blair, 1980, p. 48. A. Soudevar (unpublished article) believes the manuscript was made for Abū Saʿīd and was unfinished at the latter’s death in late November 1335.
9. Kühnel, 1939, vol. III, pp. 1833–34; illustrations of the then so-called Schulz *Shāhnāma*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 832, A–D.
10. Gray, 1961, pp. 57–59.
11. Gray, 1961, p. 62.
12. Grube, 1962, p. 28.
13. Grube, n.d. [1972], p. 63; in note 5 on page 64 he cites Barrett, 1952, p. 5, pl. 7.
14. Robinson, 1976, pp. 131–32.
15. Grube, 1978, fasc. 4, pp. 16–17.
16. Simpson, 1979, pp. 272–307, esp. p. 307. The author compares the *Shāhnāmas* to a manuscript made in Baghdad in 1299. While the comparison is not convincing, the accumulated evidence she has provided lend her conclusions reasonable credence. Her argument that these are the earliest illustrated works of the great Persian epic, although dubious to me, is irrelevant here.
17. Simpson, 1979, p. 2.
18. S. C. Welch, 1972, no. 51, n. 1.

Zāl in the Sīmurgh's Nest

(1974.290.2 v)

Exposed as a baby because his father Sām thought his white hair an attribute of the devil, Zāl had been rescued by the *Sīmurgh* and taken to her nest on Mount Elburz to be reared there. Rumors of this eventually reach Sām, who comes to reclaim his son and to thank the *Sīmurgh*. Here, Zāl is seated in a cleft on the mountaintop opposite the bird, whose wattles make her look somewhat like a rooster. The bird has a parrot-like beak, two projections—feathers or ears—from the back of her head, and a long tail ending in two tight curls. The *Sīmurgh* in the 1333 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in St. Petersburg looks more owl-like (fig. 25).¹ Only the head and shoulders of Sām bowing to

the ground are visible in the Gutman painting because all but the very top of the stepped composition at the lower right has been pasted over with text.

In the First Small *Shāhnāma* illustration of this story (fig. 26), the *Sīmurgh* already appears as the Chinese phoenix, or fêng huang. The point chosen in the story—the moment when the bird returns the boy to his father—is a sequel to that in the Gutman scene. While both pictures have gold grounds, the contrast between the two is striking.

1. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 5.



Figure 25. Zāl in the *Sīmurgh*'s Nest. Leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript dated A.H. 733/A.D. 1333. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, ex-Dorn 329



Figure 26. Zāl Is Returned to His Father, Sām, by the *Sīmurgh*. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1969 (69.74.1)

[illegible]

8



9

Zāl Delivers Sām's Letter to Manūchihr

(1974.290.3r)

This illustration depicts an event in the courtship of Zāl and Rūdāba, which the Iranian Shāh Manūchihr was strongly against because Rūdāba's father was a descendant of the evil Zāhḥāk. The shāh is eventually persuaded by Sām, Zāl, and his wise men that the marriage would be in the best interests of the realm. Here, Zāl is shown bowing down before the ruler in the same way that Sām bows before the *Simurgh* in the previously discussed painting. Zāl is also

clad as a warrior but his cuirass has a geometric pattern usually reserved in Persian painting for furniture or architectural design. Behind the throne are two guardians who traditionally hold swords and can be found in fourteenth-century illustrated throne scenes. The king sits with one knee drawn up—the position of seated rulers in most of the Great Īlkhānid *Shahnameh* paintings.

The ground color is gold.



10

Sām Comes to Inspect Rustam

(1974.190.4 v)

Rustam, who was to become the greatest of all Iranian warrior-heroes, was such a huge baby he had to be born by Caesarean section with advice from the *Simurgh*. When his grandfather Sām came to inspect him, the child was placed on a throne on an elephant and given arms to carry. While the poem mentions a bow, arrows, and a shield, the artist of

this scene, which is rarely illustrated, has provided Rustam with an ox-headed mace, a weapon for which Sām himself was famous. The small dark figure on the elephant's head is an Indian mahout, not mentioned in the text.

The ground is red.

The Combat of Qāran and Afrāsiyāb

(1974.190.5 v)

Much of the Persian epic is taken up with the wars between Iran and Turan (Iran stretching to the Oxus River and Turan consisting of the Turkic-populated region east of it). Qāran, a seasoned Iranian warrior-hero, fights furiously, seeking vengeance for the death of his brother in a single-combat duel. Afrāsiyāb in this early part of the epic is still a prince, the son of the king of Turan and leader of the Turanian army.

The device seen here of standards thrust up into the upper margin of the painting is also found in Īnjū'id school manuscripts, such as the scene of the paladins in the snow from the 1341 *Shāhnāma* (fig. 27). The cloud of dust from the battle can also be seen in both Īnjū'id illustrations and in those of the Great Īl-khānīd *Shāhnāma*, as mentioned above (p. 79).

The ground is red.



Figure 27. The Paladins of Kaykhusrau Perish in a Snowstorm. Leaf from a dispersed *Shāhnāma* manuscript dated A.H. 731/A.D. 1341. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1936 (36.113.2)

کرد آمد و چون جوابی برآید
 لو گفتی که الماس جان باشد
 یکی بر من نماند برآمد و گو
 بر نمود آمد برده ستاری
 صیغی گفت که سرک تمام شود
 بر ورده از برکشاده باشد
 در دیون نهاد این کله برستم
 برادر شد از هر دستک بخورد
 جوان لشکر برکشید شایه
 مویستر بیان کوفته از شدیم
 بلبه بجهان بر سر پرده کشید
 بایست که کشتن از زده کلاه
 زده ترکشیدند بر اینان
 برافراست بآن سیه را دیدم
 سارون ز کرد سواران جان
 جانان برده درم از خندان
 کلاه شکی و افراست بایست

که شکر و اید ابرافا تاب
 چه مرجان که از گنج جان باشد
 بگردند و نامد لاکرین پیوه
 از خون برادر شده دل جای
 دیدیم روان را خیر بر کوادر
 بصر بر این کور کوهواره نیست
 که بکین ایچ زمین بسیم
 سلجام بر من همین بگذرد
 از اسودگان جوی صیغی بایه
 کله بادی که نشاء بر شدیم
 مراباز از کوفته خیره کشید
 که کرد سه و دوش شایه

که شکر و اید ابرافا تاب
 چه مرجان که از گنج جان باشد
 بگردند و نامد لاکرین پیوه
 از خون برادر شده دل جای
 دیدیم روان را خیر بر کوادر
 بصر بر این کور کوهواره نیست
 که بکین ایچ زمین بسیم
 سلجام بر من همین بگذرد
 از اسودگان جوی صیغی بایه
 کله بادی که نشاء بر شدیم
 مراباز از کوفته خیره کشید
 که کرد سه و دوش شایه

دور و اقرب با اولیایان

که در میان برآید
 که در میان برآید
 که در میان برآید
 که در میان برآید



12

Rustam Lassos Rakhsh

(1974.290.6 r)

Rustam, while still a boy, had already distinguished himself in battle. Now it became time to have a steed of his own, worthy of him in strength and courage. Rakhsh, a strawberry roan, was the only horse in the herd that met these standards and the two became lifelong partners. Here, the artist has carelessly portrayed the hero as a mature man with a beard and moustache, and has also provided him with the tiger-skin cuirass that later became his hallmark, but was not yet at this stage of his young life. The chief of the royal stud, wearing a typical Mongol hat, carries a kind of weapon (*nāchakh*) that is also pictured in a *Mu'nis al-ahrār* leaf (cat. no. 4e). The prunus and pine trees are inspired by Chinese painting. The ground is gold.

This scene in both the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas*, in which the horses of the herd are depicted galloping wildly, is among the most effective compositions in those manuscripts.¹ In the 1333 Īnjū'id epic in St. Petersburg, the youthful-looking Rustam pushes down on a horse's back to test its strength, Rakhsh stands behind him, and the mounted stud "manager," wearing a hat and holding a "club" (*nāchakh*), is similar to that figure in our manuscript.²

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 87, 88.

2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 7.



13

Rustam Kills the White Dīv

(1974.29.7 v)

The Iranian shāh Kaykāvūs had been taken prisoner, with his troops, by the *dīvs* (devils) of Mazandaran. The last of the seven feats Rustam had to perform for their rescue was to kill the White *Dīv*, who lived in a dark cavern. Here, the *Dīv* and Rustam are seen standing and engaged in battle, although Rustam has already cut off the *Dīv*'s leg. (A later restorer, unfamiliar with the story, clumsily reattached it.) Rakhsh, alone, waits before the mountains. The ground is gold.

In the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas* the White *Dīv* is on his back with Rustam astride him, Rustam already having cut off one of the *Dīv*'s legs (in the First manuscript). A *dīv*'s head pokes up over the top of the cave, while Ūlād, Rustam's unwilling guide, tied to a tree, and Rakhsh, await him (see fig. 28).¹ In the St. Petersburg manuscript of 1333 Rustam is standing and the outsized White *Dīv* is sitting, legs seemingly intact, with no other figures included.² Again, the



Figure 28. Rustam Kills the White *Dīv*. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1969 (69.74.7)

Gutman epic scene falls somewhere between the more courtly and polished Small *Shāhnāmas* and the more simplified Īnjū'id manuscript.

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 27, 28.

2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 11.

Rustam Captures the Shāh of Shām and the Shāh of Berber

(1974.290.8 r)

Rustam, at the head of the Persian forces, has been called upon to defeat the combined armies of the shāh of Hāmāvarān—who through treachery has captured the Persian shāh, Kaykāvūs—and his allies, the shāhs of Shām and Berber. After much carnage and bloodshed Rustam seizes the allied kings and the shāh of Hāmāvarān sues for peace. In the miniature of this rarely illustrated episode¹ the arrows of the opposing armies fly. Rustam—in the fore-

ground at the right—by the position of his hands appears to be lassoing the shāh of Shām (according to the details of the text, although the lasso is missing). The shāh of Shām is shown on the left bending forward on his horse as if pulled by the lasso.

The ground is gold.

1. See Norgren and Davis, 1969, in which there is only one entry: *Rostam Lassos the King of Sham* (Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Holmes 151 [A/6], f. 107), dated 1648.





15

Kaykāvūs Falls from the Sky

(1974.290.9 v)

A *div* (devil) persuaded Kaykāvūs to attempt to fly to heaven, either to learn its secrets or to rule it as he did the earth, according to different sources for the story. The method Kaykāvūs devised was to tie four strong yet hungry eagles to a throne, each with a leg of lamb tied to a post above it, so that in striving to reach the meat the eagles would lift the throne heavenward. The plan worked. However, as the epic tells us, the eagles eventually became exhausted and discouraged, so that the whole apparatus fell back to earth, with the *shāh* miraculously escaping injury. All illustrations of this adventure, except this one, depict Kaykāvūs on his throne ascending into the sky; some include astounded spectators on the ground below.

In this unique miniature, Kaykāvūs is falling head-first into a flower bed, the legs of lamb beside his

head and the jumbled eagles above emphasizing the compelling force of gravity. Although he landed alone in a forest, far from help, here onlookers gesture toward him in amazement. It was the unique iconography of this painting as well as the strong central axis, the bilateral symmetry, the circle of flower heads, the star pattern on the throne, and the red ground in conjunction with the other colors—all found in later Indian painting—that led to the mistaken conclusion of a provenance on the subcontinent for this manuscript.

This episode is not illustrated in either the First or Second Small *Shāhnāma* manuscripts, but is found with an archaic and simplified rendering of the ascent in the *Īnǰū'id Shāhnāma* of 1341.¹ The only element in common between the two miniatures is the stepped-up format at the center.



16

16

Farāmarz Slays Varāzād

(1974.290.20 r)

Farāmarz, son of Rustam, led the vanguard of his father's army during its initial campaign of revenge against the Turanians for the murder of Siyāvush. His first encounter was with the border chief Varāzād. In the course of battle Farāmarz sought out the Turanian chief, unhorsed him and cut off his head as revenge for Siyāvush required, and then set his land on fire. All this Farāmarz reported to his father.

The illustration, as with others in this manuscript, seems to be an original invention of the artist. He has followed the spirit of the epic in depicting the death of the Turanian chief as an execution replicating the murder of Siyāvush. He has also, uniquely, added the burning building at the left, again in response to the text.

The ground is gold.

17

Rustam Comes from Kabul to Pay Homage to Kaykhusrau

(1974.290.10 r)

Rustam, his father Zāl, and his son Farāmarz come from Kabul to pay homage to the newly enthroned Kaykhusrau. Rustam kisses the ground before the shāh, who descends from the throne to greet the hero who had reared his father, Siyāvush. In the miniature the empty throne is placed at the right, with the usual two guardians standing behind it, while Kaykhusrau hovers over the prostrate Rustam, exactly as described in the epic poem. If the figure behind Rustam represents his father, Zāl, he is not shown with white hair. The blue ground with the gold dots and the outsized flowering plant behind Rustam's head are elements adopted in later Indian painting. Here, again, the artist seems to have devised his own composition based on the most striking description in the poem—the first meeting of hero and monarch. While this episode is listed for the First Small *Shāhnāma* leaf in the Chester Beatty Library catalogue but is not illustrated, the description implies that



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Rustam, Zāl, and the other paladins are standing before the throne,¹ and so it would appear that the composition here is in no way modeled on the earlier one. In the Freer Small *Shāhnāma* there is an illustration recorded by one scholar as “Zal and Rustam Greet Kai Khusrau”² and by another as “Kai Khusrau Swears to Take Vengeance on Afrāsiyāb”³—an event slightly later in the narrative. In any case the description of the composition (see note 1) seems as

unrelated to this painting as to that of the First Small *Shāhnāma*.

1. Arberry, Minovi, and Blochet, vol. I, 1959, no. 104 (16), p. 13.
2. Simpson, 1979, p. 355, not illustrated.
3. A. Welch, 1972, IR M. 2/B, p. 57, not illustrated. The author writes, “The hierarchical arrangement of the figures around the throne recalls the spatial arrangements on Sasanian silver.”

The Combat of Tūs and Hūmān

(1974.290.11 r)

Tūs led the Iranian host and Hūmān the Turanian one, but before their armies clashed the two mighty warriors engaged in single combat. So closely matched were they that only the failing light forced an end to the fighting. The two opponents are pictured prominently in the foreground. It is tempting

to interpret the picture as illustrating the moment when Tūs, on the left, resorted to bow and arrows and Hūmān, on the right, raised his shield to protect himself; however, it could also represent a generalized single-combat scene.

The ground is gold.

The Combat of Rustam and Ashkabūs

(1974.290.12 r)

Ashkabūs, with the arrogance of a mounted cavalier, scorned Rustam for coming to fight him on foot, but Rustam shot Ashkabūs's horse out from under him so that he, too, became a foot soldier. Impervious to his foe's arrows, Rustam then shot Ashkabūs with such force that the arrow penetrated up to its plume. The artist has chosen to illustrate the climactic moment when Rustam's arrow has just pierced Ashkabūs, who reels backward from the impact. Behind Rustam stands a warrior with a chain mail aventail attached to his helmet so that only the eyes are visible; it is like the one in the *Mu'nis al-abrār* manuscript, mentioned above, as is the shield of cane with its radiating pattern. The warrior's presence, like that of the dust cloud, indicates that this is an event taking place within the framework of a battle between the opposing Iranian and Turanian forces. The mounted warrior at the left, throwing up his hands in a gesture of despair, lets the viewer know what a blow the death of Ashkabūs is to the Turanian side. The ground is dark blue with gold dots in clusters.

The encounter depicted here, very popular with later illustrators, also appears in the First Small

Shāhnāma, where it is far less dramatically rendered.¹ There, Ashkabūs is standing before his dead horse, but has not yet been shot himself. Rustam, holding a bow not yet bent, is separated from him by a tree that acts as a barrier to the action. An odd coincidence is that in both miniatures the horse of Ashkabūs is white, although color is not specified in the poem. Perhaps a popular version of the combat existed in the fourteenth century that indicated a white steed.

In the 1330 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul this confrontation is pictured with the least detail. Rustam, on the right, has just shot Ashkabūs, who is falling backward from the impact. His dead horse lies in the foreground, in front of a large tree with outsized palmette foliage resembling artichokes.² Again, the three paintings clearly belong to different schools.

1. Simpson, 1979, fig. 70 (from the Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.21).

2. Ipşiroğlu, 1971, no. 28 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479, f. 30b).



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19



20

Rustam Lassos the Khāqān of Chīn, Pulling Him from His White Elephant

(1974.290.13 r)

Both the Freer and First Small *Shāhnāmas* have an illustration of this episode, but neither is published.¹

1. Simpson, 1979, pp. 356 (Spink, 1977, no. 66), 371 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.25).

The khāqān of Chīn had become an ally of the Turanians, and faced the Iranians with a vast army, including many sumptuously adorned war elephants. Rustam, despite the enormous odds, was determined to capture him and take the booty to the shāh Kaykhusrau. Rustam charged through a barrage of missiles unscathed, flung his lasso, pulled the khāqān from his white elephant, bound him as a prisoner, and sent the booty to the shāh.

The illustration is reduced to the principal figures, each of whom has one attendant. The khāqān, with the lasso around his shoulders (not his neck as the text specifies), holds on to it, trying vainly to resist its inexorable force in Rustam's hands. The figure behind Rustam (perhaps Ruhhām, sent to guard his back) holds an ox-headed mace (of the type found in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*), a symbol of Iranian vengeance. The ground is gold.

21

The Combat of Rustam and Kāfūr

(1974.290.14 r)

Rustam and his army came upon a fortified city ruled by a king called Kāfūr who ate only the human flesh of growing youths. Rustam sent two of his warrior chiefs with an army against Kāfūr, but the special armor of Kāfūr's forces was impervious to arrows. The Iranian army fared so badly that Rustam was hastily called to the rescue. Kāfūr charged at Rustam, but the hero avoided both the enemy's sword



and lasso. After emitting a war cry that struck amazement in Kāfūr, Rustam landed a blow with his mace that killed his opponent.

This somewhat random encounter is apparently illustrated so rarely it is not even listed in the *Preliminary Index of Shab-Nameh Illustrations* (Norgren and Davis, 1969). The illustrator here has mistakenly provided Kāfūr with a mace—an ox-headed one at that, against which Rustam defends himself with a shield, as described in the epic—and Rustam with a sword, instead of the other way round. Nevertheless, the scene is full of movement and action.

The ground is dark blue with clusters of gold dots, and a cloud of battle dust hovers above.

22

The Combat of Rustam and Pūlādvand (1974.290.15r)

Afrāsiyāb, in despair at the success of the Iranian war of revenge, which he attributed largely to Rustam's prowess, begged Pūlādvand, a *div*-like king from the mountains of Chīn who has enormous strength and battle skills, to come and rid the world of that hero. In the ensuing battle Pūlādvand unhorses four of the most renowned of the Iranian paladins to the dismay of the Iranian army. He and Rustam then meet in single combat. Rustam manages a crushing blow with his mace to his enemy's head, but Pūlādvand does not die. In a wrestling match Rustam dashes Pūlādvand to the ground, and, sure that he has slain him, goes back to his army. Pūlādvand is not dead, however, but withdraws with his forces.

In the miniature Pūlādvand, on a white horse, strikes at Rustam with his sword and appears to be reeling from Rustam's blow with an odd-looking weapon, probably of Central Asian origin, which appears to be a kind of mace that functions as a flail. This miniature seems to have evolved from the imagination of the artist, rather than from a model, as

with many other paintings in this manuscript. Usually the final wrestling match is illustrated, as in the Freer and First Small *Shāhnāmas*.¹

The ground is blue with clusters of gold dots and suffers from overpainting.

1. Simpson, 1979, pp. 356, 371, listed but not illustrated.

23

Rustam Is Thrown into the Sea by the Dīv Akvān (1974.290.17r)

Rustam awoke to find himself still lying on the clod of earth on which he had fallen asleep but now it was held aloft by the *div* Akvān, who offered him the alternative of dying by being flung onto the mountains or into the sea. Rustam chose the mountains, believing that death on the hard rocks would be a worse fate and knowing that the *div* would do just the opposite. The *div* then threw Rustam into the sea. Rustam drew his sword and fought his way through the crocodiles to shore, as is so delightfully pictured in this miniature, where the crocodile is in the form of a lion. The *div* Akvān looks down at him with a leer from the upper-right corner, while two ducks are oblivious to the drama. The red ground and its plants resemble those in the *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*.

This illustration is original and unique. It is the very lack of outside influence in this and other miniatures in the Gutman manuscript that have led some scholars to suggest a provenance such as Sultanate India, remote from known artistic centers in Iran.

The illustrations of this story in the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas*, and in all subsequent manuscripts, show Rustam prone on the clod of earth, held aloft by his tormentor.¹

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 105 (Kraus Collection, no. 27), 106 (Freer Gallery of Art, 45.23).

از عمر السعدي با لولا زو منو

برفتن داشت لولا و دود	بند ما هر دو هم کمد	برودت بود بسیار هوس	را با خصلت بی برآمد بوس
و کرد از لیران برآمد را	بر لیران و شمع کزان ساهد	خال اندر انگشت کشید از	طاهره را از خنده سوار



سایه بر آتش کجا و یان	نهر رو نیمه کرد در میان	خوشی بر آمد از ابرو	ماند باج کرد ادا و رزمگاه
فریاد و کرد و کرد نکش از	چو دید آن تو سبکی از نشان	کفتم با رستم کینه خوا	که بولا و دود از رزمگاه
بروزی یکی نامداوی نالد	و کرد از لشکر سوار	که شکست بدین اگر و لاد و د	لکوز و محض شین و گسند
هی قبل که سر میا غشت	بر بر کافریا در سوس	از لیران و دود از ابرو	افند و لشکر دزدیاست
چو کم شد ز کور و دود و دود	بناید با دود و دود	که بنده و دود و دود	سوز و دود و دود
از دود و دود و دود	صنای و دود و دود	چو از آن می کشند و دود	ادار و کلاه و دود

22

سعد داد باج که دانا چین	یکی داسانی و داسانی	که در دایره کور و دود	ایو و دود و دود
ماند بر دایره و دود و دود	خود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	کفن و دود و دود
که دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود
دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود



همان که هوای دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود
دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود
دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود
دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود	دود و دود و دود

23



Bīzhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irmān

(1974.290.18 v)

Kaykhusrau offered rich rewards to any warrior who volunteered to rid the forest of Irmān of its destructively rampaging wild boars. Only Bīzhan, son of Gīv, young and inexperienced though he was, took up the challenge. When Bīzhan reached the far-distant forest his companion refused to enter so the young warrior courageously fought the charging boars alone, finally cutting off their heads as trophies. This miniature—which has a red ground—has already been

discussed above, in the introductory essay (p. 76), in the context of its relationship to illustrations of the same event in the 1341 *Īnǰū'id* and the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas*, all of which show Bīzhan mounted, as described in the epic, rather than on foot, as seen here. This is another instance of the independence of the artist(s) of this manuscript, who, incidentally, ignored Bīzhan's youth and provided him with the moustache and beard of a mature man.

Gustaham Slays Lāhbāk and Farshīdvard

(1974.290.19 v)

Pīrān, the wise old commander-in-chief of the Turanians, had been slain. He had advised his brothers that in such an event his army had been promised quarter, but the Turanian nobles would be in mortal danger. Therefore the two brothers fled toward Turan, pursued by Gustaham. The brothers turned to fight him, but one, Farshīdvard, was killed by a sword thrust. Frenzied by grief Lāhbāk loosed his arrows. Both cavaliers were wounded, but then Gustaham charged and cut off his opponent's head. Thus ended a royal line.

The artist has depicted a full-fledged battle scene against a gold ground. The epic limits the scene to three participants, so that it is difficult to identify the main protagonists here. Is it Gustaham galloping from the right? Is Farshīdvard tumbling from the horse, or is he the dead figure at the lower right? In the illustration of this encounter in the First Small *Shāhnāma* in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (see fig. 29)



Figure 29. Gustaham Slays Lāhbāk and Farshīdvard. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1969 (69.74.4)

the action is clear and the text of the poem closely followed. Farshīdvard has fallen, Lāhbāk is loosing his arrows from the left, and Gustaham is wielding his sword at the right. The ground is also gold, but that is the only comparable element between the two paintings, which otherwise have no connection.

Kaykhusrau Wrestles with Shīda

(1974.290.16 r)

Shīda, son of Afrāsiyāb, was determined to engage in a single combat encounter with Kaykhusrau, who agreed to the challenge. Shīda, in spite of his bravery and prowess, soon realized he was no match for the Iranian shāh, and suggested that they wrestle, in the belief that Kaykhusrau would find it unseemly, as a reigning monarch, to dismount and fight on foot. Kaykhusrau divined Shīda's thoughts, however, and aware of the many Iranian nobles whom Shīda would slay in battle if allowed to rest and return to the fray, the shāh agreed. He grabbed the prince, held him up, and flung him to the ground, killing him.

The moment when Shīda is about to be thrown to the ground has been chosen by the illustrator, who has placed the two figures in the center of the composition. On either side are two retainers, who stand holding the royal steeds and provide bilateral symme-

try to the composition. The ground is white, and is strewn with scattered plants and grass tufts, while a cloud hovers above the protagonists. The rear of the horse at the right was hidden by the picture frame, but a later restorer has added two hind legs and a tail very awkwardly.

This episode is illustrated in the First Small *Shāhnāma*, but is not published.¹ It is also included in the 1333 *Īnǰū'id Shāhnāma* in St. Petersburg, where Shīda is prone on the ground, as Kaykhusrau kneels over him with sword drawn. The two horses are at the right and the retainers at the left,² so that there is virtually no connection with the Gutman illustration.

1. Simpson, 1979, p. 371 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.28 r).

2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 32.





27

Kaykhusrau Slays Afrāsiyāb

(1974.290.21 v)

Finally the long wars between Turan and Iran came to an end, with Afrāsiyāb defeated and Kaykhusrau triumphant. The Turanian king and his brother Garsīvaz were captured and executed and the murder of Siyāvush avenged. The epic relates that Kaykhusrau drew his sword and smote Afrāsiyāb upon the neck. In the illustration, which has a red background, Afrāsiyāb is seated on the ground with one leg under him and one extended, his arms are bound, and he wears the usual undergarment of prisoners. Kaykhusrau stands before Afrāsiyāb holding him by the hair while a warrior with a long sword stands behind him.



Figure 30. Afrāsiyāb and Garsīvaz before Kaykhusrau, about to Be Executed. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1934 (34.24.5)

In the First Small *Shāhnāma* the same scene is treated very differently (see fig. 30). Kaykhusrau is enthroned and holds a long sword. Before him stand Afrāsiyāb, clothed, and Garsīvaz, in prisoners' underdrawers, both bound. The executioner of Garsīvaz is placed behind him with a drawn sword. Kaykāvūs, Kaykhusrau's grandfather, is seated beside the shāh. This presents a much more detailed version of the events than the Gutman miniature.

In the 1333 Īnjū'id manuscript in St. Petersburg Kaykhusrau dominates the center of the composition. He holds his sword above his head with both hands as the elderly Afrāsiyāb, blindfolded and bent over, faces his brother, Garsīvaz, in the left margin. Both brothers have their arms bound and they wear prisoners' underdrawers. There are two standing figures and a mounted one at the right, the last possibly Kaykāvūs.¹

In the Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* of 1341, the blindfolded Afrāsiyāb is kneeling on the ground, Kaykhusrau is behind him with raised sword, and an attendant is holding him by the hair. Garsīvaz stands before Afrāsiyāb; both have their arms bound and are dressed in prisoners' underwear. Kaykāvūs is mounted, and along with an attendant, is at the right.²

The illustration most closely resembling the Gutman miniature, as mentioned above in the introductory essay (p. 73), is the one in the Diez Album in Berlin, which, although it has been cropped at both sides, shows Afrāsiyāb in an identical pose. It is closer to the epic text than the Gutman painting, however, depicting Kaykhusrau wielding the sword himself.

1. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 33.

2. Grube, 1962, no. 25, ill. (Walters Art Gallery, no. W 677b).

28

Caesar Gives His Daughter Katāyūn to Gushtāsp

(1974.290.22 r)

It was the custom at the court of Rūm, when a princess became of marriageable age, for Caesar to invite to the palace the highest ranking nobles and magnates of the land, as well as the sages and wise men, and to allow his daughter to choose a husband from among them according to her fancy. Katāyūn had seen Gushtāsp in a dream and when she recognized him in the palace she instantly chose him. Caesar, not knowing of Gushtāsp's royal lineage, was dismayed and angry, but was persuaded that all would be well if he followed the old tradition and his daughter's choice.

Caesar is pictured on his throne, with one knee drawn up, as seen in the contemporary Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma*, and with the traditional pair of throne guardians behind him. Katāyūn, however, dominates the composition, standing in the middle, turned to-

ward a lady-in-waiting, but pointing at the throne. The turbaned figure bowing before Caesar is likely to be a counselor, since an aristocrat would not be dressed thus. A guardian within an arched doorway at the left seems to be taking in the scene. The background is deep blue with clusters of gold dots.

The artist has successfully combined traditional iconography, the enthroned ruler and the man in the doorway, with his own original interpretation of the text, Katāyūn indicating her freedom of choice. This artist was perceptive in his interpretation of the epic poem, while another was quite cavalier about it (see, for example, cat. no. 25). The episode is illustrated in the Second Small *Shāhnāma*, but the miniature has not been published.¹

1. Simpson, 1979, p. 379 (Cincinnati, 1947.499 r).

کتابی بوی جان دید یک سخاوت	که در شش دی کشتی و از افغان	یکی ایمن مردید استادی	از او به مردم تر استادی
سراپن بود بیجان	عربی دل از آن فرزان	بلا حور و و بدیدار ماه	شش کیستین بر کاه شاه
یکی در پای کتا بوز بودی	دو بسندی در شش رنگ بود	یکی ایمن کردی بصر بر داشت	هر اکسیر که بودی به بر ک
جوان ایمن نداد باشد اند	از آن پس بری جهم را خواند	کتابی بوی شش با سنا و شش	یکی در شش نازدهم یک بیست
هم کشتی چند کلمه شود	بستند بر نیامد کسی نان کرده	از ایران سوی پرده نهاد در	هر امان نامدیش جفت جفت
هائیکه و میر کشتی بر زان	جفتی نام را که بر ز جراح	نمودد دیکه که از کفران	روم اندرون با مور و هزاران
بیاید یکسر کجاست	بر آن ناکه باشد بخوی بند	جواکای آمد بهر هنر	هزارمادری که گذاردی
هائیکه در نیکو کشتی	که چندین مانی خواند بر	روان کجاست ناکه و کاه مهر	بیست و زن کرد از غم مهر
جوشید کشتی با یک بر فست	ایوان بصر امید داشت	به بیغوله شد فرود از میان	بزار و در شش خسته روان
کتابی کل رخ ابا بند کات	هائیکه از آن بستاند کات	یک کشتی کرد از ایران خویش	با بدو و در شش خاستی
جواد و در کشتی را که کشت	که از خوار بر کشتی	هائیکه با نامد از افغان	هائیکه با نامد از افغان



جود سورا سورا	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت
که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت
که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت
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که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت	که در کشتی بماند کشت



29

Gushtāsp Slays the Rhino-Wolf

(1974.290.23 v)

In order not to put up with another disgraceful marriage, such as Caesar perceived Katāyūn's, he demanded that the next suitor for a royal princess perform a mighty feat—that is, he had to go to the forest of Fasikūn and slay a mighty horned wolf as large as an elephant. Gushtāsp volunteered to face the wolf on behalf of the suitor. The enormous and ferocious creature charged the hero, who showered arrows at it, but it advanced and ripped open the belly of Gushtāsp's steed. Gushtāsp then dismounted and killed the beast with his sword.

In the miniature the encounter takes place against a gold ground in a mountain setting, and Gushtāsp, still mounted and holding his bow, strikes out behind him with his sword. The gruesome demise of the steed has been omitted. Stylistically and iconographically the Gutman illustration stands alone.

The First Small *Shāhnāma* miniature (see fig. 31) closely follows the epic text, with Gushtāsp on foot, his sword raised, his horse dead, and the monster wolf charging. The composition in the Second Small *Shāhnāma* is close to that in the First, but is more



Figure 31. Gushtāsp Slays the Rhino-Wolf. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1969 (69.74.3)

graphic, as the “karg” is shown ripping apart the belly of the horse with its horn.¹ The version in the Freer *Shāhnāma*, where the scene also appears, portrays Gush-tāsp mounted and in the mountains, but facing the beast.

1. Simpson, 1979, no. 60 (L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Ms. 24); no. 59 illustrates the MMA leaf; both are entitled “Gushtasp Slays the Karg.”

Gushtāsp Slays the Dragon of Mount Saqilā

(1974.290.24 r)

A suitor for the hand of Caesar's youngest daughter was also given a mighty feat to perform—the slaying of the terrible dragon of Mount Saqilā. Gushtāsp again volunteered to face the monster, after demanding a long double-toothed sword. By his courage and prowess, Gushtāsp prevailed and killed the dragon, first thrusting the sword down its throat and then slashing its head. In the miniature this drama takes place in a mountain setting against a red

ground. The illustration is stepped so that at the left there are five lines of text below it instead of two. The dragon takes up two-thirds of the composition, while Gushtāsp stands before it, slashing at its head with his sword. Only the head, neck, and forelegs of the hero's steed are visible at the right. Because in the epic Gushtāsp dismounts after the dragon is dead to remove some of its teeth, so the artist here has taken certain liberties for the sake of dramatic effect,



achieved by the face-to-face proximity of the combatants.

In both the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas* Gushtāsp is seen on his horse charging from the left while thrusting a long spear-like weapon, toothed at the end, into the dragon's open mouth.¹ The treat-

ment in both is decorative and they lack the dynamic immediacy of the Gutman miniature.

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 91 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.30), 92 (Albright-Knox Gallery, 35.15.4).

31

Isfandiyār's Second Course: He Slays the Lions

(1974.290.25)

*I*sfandiyār, like Rostam, had to pass successfully through seven dangerous courses before completing a rescue mission. The second consisted of an encounter with a pair of dangerous lions. The artist has chosen the moment in the story when the first lion has been dispatched with the blow of a sword that cut it from head to midriff, although the illustration shows a thrust at the midriff alone. Isfandiyār has yet to kill the lioness, although the painter seems to have reversed the order of the attacking beasts. In any case, as mentioned earlier in the introduction (p. 72), the animals are both naturalistically and sympathetically drawn. The ground is gold.



Figure 32. Isfandiyār's Second Course: He Slays the Lions. Leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript (folio 143v) dated A.H. 731/A.D. 1330. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H. 1479



Isfandiyār's Second Course is illustrated in the Freer Small *Shāhnāma*, but that miniature has not been published.¹ It is also illustrated in the 1330 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul (see fig. 32) where, against a red ground, Isfandiyār, followed by his mounted troops, has killed one lion, spread out like a rug in the upper left, and is applying his sword to the second one at

the lower left. The lions look rather small and insignificant and are not as believable as those in the Gutman painting.² The spirit of the two miniatures as well as their compositions are totally different.

1. Simpson, 1979, p. 359 (Freer Gallery of Art, 85).
2. Rogers, 1986, no. 37, colorpl.



32

Isfandiyār's Third Course: He Slays a Dragon

(1974.290.26; verso of 1974.290.25)

When Isfandiyār learned of the horrendous attributes of the dragon he had to face he had a carriage built with swords sticking out all over it. When he encountered the dragon, it sucked in with its fiery, poisonous breath the box-like carriage with the hero inside and the two horses that were pulling it. The sword blades stuck in the dragon's gullet, and when the animal weakened from loss of blood, Isfandiyār dispatched it and swooned from its fumes.

In the miniature the graphic details of the epic have been ignored and, against a red background, Isfandiyār is shown in the mountains, mounted on a

horse and shooting the writhing, menacing dragon with his bow and arrow.

This adventure is also illustrated in the Freer and First Small *Shāhnāmas*, but neither miniature is published.¹ The scene is illustrated as well in the 1330 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul. There, against a yellow ochre ground, a Central Asian-type dragon is pictured with the rear end of one horse sticking out of its open mouth and the other horse still intact, but about to be inhaled, as Isfandiyār stands over it, his sword extended to the dragon's nose. The carriage with the attached swords is visible behind him.² While the

poem is not adhered to in the action sequence—a most challenging feat—all the elements appear. There is clearly no relationship between the two illustrations. Oddly enough, a published illustration from the 1330 manuscript that purports to be this scene³ shows the dragon on the left with the hero mounted on the right, as in the Gutman painting. The dragon, however, is different, with a larger Central Asian-type head, and the hero stylistically is a totally different figure type. Perhaps this second 1330 picture illustrates

Gushtāsp's dragon fight—in which case it differs from the Gutman image of that event (see cat. no. 29).

1. Simpson, pp. 359 (Freer Gallery of Art, 85), 372 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.36 r).
2. Rogers, 1986, no. 35, colorpl.
3. Ipşiroğlu, 1971, no. 31 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479, f. 144 a). This is the same folio number given by Rogers, but since the folio illustrated by Rogers follows, the scene can be presumed to be the story of Isfandiyār.

33

Isfandiyār's Fourth Course: He Slays a Sorceress

(1974.290.27 r)

Illustrations of Isfandiyār's encounter with the witch closely resemble Rustam's, but the story is different. Rustam did not know that the beautiful maiden who appeared before him was in fact a sorceress, while Isfandiyār did, and came prepared. After plying her with wine, he threw a magically unbreakable steel chain around her neck and then struck her with his sword.

In this miniature, the artist has presented a delightful scene. Isfandiyār is seated in the foreground beneath a tree inhabited by birds, strumming his lute. At the foot of the tree is a pond with a duck swimming in it and on the other side of the pond stands a beautiful maiden. The hero's horse is beside her at the left. The background is white. It is traditional in this scene, as it is for representations of Rustam and the sorceress, for the witch to be shown in her true and hideous form, but the fresh approach found in this manuscript is again manifest here.

This Fourth Course is pictured in the Freer and

the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas* but the illustrations in only the first two manuscripts are published.¹ In the Freer version the witch in her hag-like form is in the center; Isfandiyār, with raised sword, is at the right; and his horse is higher up on the left. The First Small *Shāhnāma* shows the sorceress in the form of a tiger with the chain around its neck, facing the hero with his raised sword. Illustrations of Isfandiyār and the sorceress tend to follow the iconography of Rustam and the sorceress, where the latter is also depicted as a hideous hag, but these scenes can be differentiated by Rustam's tiger-skin cuirass.² Again, the Gutman miniature stands alone.

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 9 (Freer Gallery of Art, 30.5), 10 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.35); for the Second Small *Shāhnāma* see p. 379 (RISD, 44.302 v).
2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 10 (from the 1333 St. Petersburg Īnjuh'id *Shāhnāma*). In the 1330 Īnjuh'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul the sorceress is shown twice, as a comely damsel and as a horrible witch.

هم که گفت از اسفندیار	که هرگز نپسیدی ای کسار	بجز شیر و نراره ها	بجنگ لاهیا بیاید رها
نیاید همی نیز چکان مهر	نه دیدار غش بر رخ مهر	سیاهم زین دکان همه کام دل	مرا کرد و دهد به دراکسل
بکای سر و در خورشید روی	فروخته از شکاف پای	از جان و دار اسفندیار	جوفتند چون گل از زلال
تیر که گاه مهر بر روی بدام	اباطمه و رود و برادر حام	اسبان یکی تکه خور بدست	از دیای سنی رخ از مشک و
بیاید زیند کین شهر یاب	دور رخ و کشتن کوه را	خاوری و درم و آردا بر	سر و روی و در بر کشید



چون باغ او در اسفندیار	که بی تو جیناد کس در کار	بیشتر در من یکی نده ام	نه او بهر شاهی بز و هده ام
خدا ی تو دامن ترخان خورش	خوادم هر بخش و فرمان خویش	شوم از توام ناطق کین	نامم بر و بر و بر و بر و بر
خفت آورم خواهر از اسفندیار	خفت جهان از شاه بلند	که با او کرد با او و او	که با او کرد با او و او
بر فتنه آن بنه نوباد	بیار آمدن بخشگاه نوباد	بجوایمان زان لشکر از او	بجای که بدو بود یا کوی
همه کرد از ایشان ده و هزار	سواران اسب فکین نامدار	بریشان هر وقت کخ و درم	که در اچ در از بخشش و درم
خفتد غمی به اسفندیار	یکی نایج بر کوهر شاهوار	خوشی بر آمد در گاه شاه	برو کشت شاهان و اسب نایج
همه کسیدند به سرای	در فتنه یکایک اوهای	بر فتنه از آن زمان و سیاه	شمار کرد و خورشید و شاه
ز اووان بر شد اسفندیار	سیاهی بریدار در کار	بخت و بخت و بخت و بخت	هانا بر اندیشه خوان آورم

کاستان هفتی از اسفندیار

بر طبع من گامی دهد	که شاه جهان طود از بهادر	بر کوه و در و در و در	بر کوه و در و در و در
بر کوه و در و در و در	بر کوه و در و در و در	بر کوه و در و در و در	بر کوه و در و در و در



34

Isfandiyār's Fifth Course: He Slays the Sīmurgh

(1974.29.28r)

Since Firdausi used various sources to write his epic, inconsistencies and even contradictions occasionally are found, as here, where the *Simurgh* is patterned on the Roc, a fearsome legendary bird of enormous strength and ferocity. The latter, however, bears no resemblance to the *Sīmurgh*, who is the guardian and succorer of the family of Zāl. In this adventure Isfandiyār went forth to meet his challenge in the same steed-drawn brake affixed with swords that he had devised for the dragon fight. The enormous bird swooped down and tried to seize the chariot with her talons but her legs and wings were pierced by the swords and her life ebbed away. Isfandiyār then emerged from his carriage and hewed her to pieces.

In the miniature Isfandiyār takes up the center of the composition, sitting in his box cart, from which the sharp swords have been omitted, and striking at the *Simurgh's* head with a sword he holds in both hands; the horse is at the left beneath a thick-leaved tree. Because there is not very much room at the



Figure 33. Isfandiyār's Fifth Course: He Slays the *Sīmurgh*. Leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript (folio 145r) dated A.H. 731/A.D. 1330. Shiraz, Īnǰū'id period. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H. 1479

right, the *Simurgh* is rather small and more decorative than frightening, with her patterned wings and long tail. This *Simurgh* does not yet follow the Chinese-phoenix model with its ribbon-like tails and long

looped neck, but is more graceful by far than the rooster/parrot type (see cat. no. 8). A tiny mountain peak indicates the place from where she dropped down. The ground is deep blue with clusters of gold dots.

This illustration in the Second Small *Shāhnāma* is treated very differently. There, Isfandiyār with his raised sword is standing at the left, while before him the *Simurgh* has been impaled on the spikes of the cart, of which only the wheels are visible. The carriage horse is galloping to the right under the flowing strands of the *Simurgh's* Chinese-phoenix tail.¹ In the 1330 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul Isfandiyār, with raised shield, stands amid mountains at the left and slashes

at the *Simurgh's* head with his sword (see fig. 33). This *Simurgh*, based on the Chinese phoenix, takes up most of the rest of the composition. Two Central Asian-type wheels, resembling rosettes, are all of the cart that is shown. There are no horses.²

The Gutman leaf again is quite different from these other two, less detailed than the painting in the Small *Shāhnāma* and more so than the Īnjū'id one, but iconographically less *au courant* than the others, which are earlier in date.

1. Simpson, 1979, no. 15 (Freer Gallery of Art, 45.22).

2. Rogers, 1986, no. 39, colorpl.

35

Isfandiyār Slays Arjāsp and Takes the Brazen Hold

(1974.290.29 v)

The only way Isfandiyār can enter the magically impregnable Brazen Hold is by a ruse, disguised as a merchant with a caravan of incredibly rich and desirable goods. He has come to rescue his imprisoned sisters, kept there by the Turanian chieftain

Arjāsp. Isfandiyār releases his troops, who are hidden in the caravan boxes, and they capture the Brazen Hold, killing all its defenders, with the Iranian hero personally dispatching the reprehensible Arjāsp. Although the fight within the Brazen Hold takes place



in the middle of the night, Arjāsp is shown here having just stepped down from his throne, behind which a guardian is standing. Isfandiyār has grabbed him by the hair, as if for an execution, and is cleaving his head in two with a sword, although the epic relates that Arjāsp, wakened by the din of fighting, put on his mail and armed himself. A fallen enemy lies before the palace gateway at the left, within which a seated figure can be seen. In spite of the lack of strict adherence to the text, the spirit of the narrative is dy-

namically presented. The interior of the palace has a gold ground, while that of the gateway is blue with gold-dot clusters.

This event is illustrated in both the Freer and the First Small *Shāhnāmas* but neither of these miniatures has been published.¹

1. Simpson, 1979, pp. 359 (Copenhagen, OS 1971-98), 372 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.39).

36 and 37

Rustam Dies and Rustam Avenges His Own Impending Death

(1974.290.30, 31)

Rustam was lured, with his brother Zavāra, to the hunting fields of Kabul by its king and his treacherous half brother, Shaghād, who had arranged for the deaths of the brothers by creating pits lined with spears and covered with brush over the course they were sure to ride. Rustam and Rakhsh, his faithful steed, fell into a pit and were impaled. Mortally wounded, Rustam raised himself to look out of the pit, saw Shaghād, and knew him to be the culprit. Rustam asked Shaghād to string his bow and hand him an arrow so that he might ward off marauding animals until he died. Shaghād complied and, exulting, hid behind a tree. In spite of his pain and his wounds Rustam shot an arrow through the rotten trunk and into his murderer, killing him and thus avenging his own death. Zavāra died in another pit. Usually the moment of Rustam's revenge is the scene chosen by illustrators.

These two miniatures, on opposite sides of the same leaf, are close in composition and, as they are part of one episode, may be described together. Each has a red ground. The first has a slightly stepped for-

mat. In both pictures the pit—large and centered in the first, smaller and at the right in the second—is shown as a mound with a hole at the top through which Rustam emerges and with a section at the front sliced off to reveal his steed in its depths. This is already a characteristic device. In both paintings the spreading foliage of the sturdy tree suggests the existence of a benevolent nature in an otherwise starkly brutal scene. The lava-like rock at the left of the second miniature is derived from Chinese prototypes.

This unhappy event is illustrated in the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas* but neither miniature has been published.¹ It is also found in the 1330 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in Istanbul and among the illustrations from the 1341 dispersed Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma*, but these miniatures, too, are unpublished.²

1. Simpson, 1979, pp. 373 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.43), 379 (Louvre, MAO 344 r).

2. Norgren and Davis, 1969, n.p. (listed as "Rustam Slays Shaghad then Dies"; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479, and The Art Institute of Chicago, 34.117).



36



37



Iskandar in the Presence of the Brahmins

(1974.290.32 v)

Iskandar (Alexander the Great) traveled to the land of the Brahmins to inquire into their mysteries and philosophy. He found that they cared not for possessions or the things of this transitory world, wealth or ambition, but were concerned with knowledge and wisdom—more profound and enduring goals than crown, treasure, and conquest.

In the miniature Iskandar is richly dressed and even

the more subdued clothing of his attendants contrasts with the simple raiment of the Brahmins, who have been provided with the kind of hats made of curved leaves usually worn, in miniatures, by nymphs, fairies, angels, or other undefined and partly otherworldly beings.

The ground here is gold.



Iskandar Speaks with the Bird on the Mountain

(1974.290.33 v)

*I*skandar came to a high bright mountain on the top of which were four tall columns, each with a nest containing a huge green bird. One engaged Iskandar in conversation, at the end advising him to go alone and on foot to the topmost peak where he would find Isrāfīl, who would warn Iskandar of his impending death.

In the miniature, Iskandar stands alone in the mountains, looking up with his arms raised. On either side of him is a column topped with a vase-like form. There are no birds in the picture, but the page has been patched with chevron-shaped strips and re-

painted, so that a bird or birds may be missing from this section.

In the Great Īlhānīd *Shāhnāma* there is a painting of Iskandar in the mountains that has been entitled "Alexander Arriving at the Mountain of Isrāfīl."¹ The missing triangle at the upper left is presumed to have contained Isrāfīl. In spite of the stylistic differences between the two paintings, they are surprisingly close in spirit.

1. Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 35 (Louvre, 7094); see, however, Norgren and Davis, 1969, where the same picture is entitled: "Eskandar and the Talking Birds."



40

40

The Funeral of Iskandar

(1974.290.34 v)

*I*skandar grew sick and died in Babylon. The epic relates that his golden bier was carried out on the plain, where all around mourned. The miniature, with the white background of the plain, the gold coffin, and the mourners rending their hair and clothes according to tradition simply but movingly portrays the grief described.

The famous miniature of the funeral of Iskandar from the Great *Īlkhānīd Shāhnāma*¹ depicts the renewed mourning when the coffin was taken to Iskandarīyya, where the setting was an elaborate hall, but there, too, the poem describes the event as taking place on a plain on which the coffin was set down.

1. Gray, 1961, colorpl. p. 32 (Freer Gallery of Art, 38.3).

41

Bahrām Gūr Slays a Dragon, Which, When Killed, Reveals a Dead Youth Inside

(1974.290.36 r)

*B*ahrām Gūr, while out hunting, saw an awesome dragon. He shot an arrow at its chest and then at its head. The shāh then dismounted and cut the dragon open with his sword. Inside was a dead youth it had swallowed. Bahrām, blinded by his grief for the youth and by the dragon's venom, pulled the body out of the dragon. Here, in spite of the large patch in the center of the picture, the youth can be seen being pulled out of the dragon by Bahrām. The shāh's horse is rather more crudely drawn than is usual in the miniatures in this manuscript, giving this painting a rather more provincial quality, although the tree, which has thick, natural-looking foliage, redeems it. The ground is gold.

Iconographically, the illustration of this story in the First Small *Shāhnāma* is not so different,¹ but the Gut-

man painting has a characteristic robust quality and an immediacy that is totally lacking in the earlier miniature. In the 1333 Īnǰū'id *Shāhnāma* in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg, the beginning of the encounter is illustrated: Bahrām is mounted, his bow drawn, and the large-headed Central Asian-type dragon is very much alive. In the poem the dragon is described as like a lion and here it has been provided with a lion's legs and paws.² In the Great Īlkhānid

Shāhnāma yet another moment in the struggle is illustrated. Bahrām has dismounted, having shot his arrows into the dragon's head and chest, and is at the point of plunging his sword into the animal's chest.³

1. Simpson, 1979, no. 42 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.58); Arberry, Minovi, and Blochet, vol. I, 1959, pl. 10b.
2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 41.
3. Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 49 (The Cleveland Museum of Art, 43.658).





42

42

Bahrām Gūr Hunts the Onager

(1974.290.35 v)

Bahrām Gūr declared that if any of his companions shot an onager the arrow should pierce its buttocks and come through the chest. The nobles exclaimed that only he was capable of such a shot, and when, indeed, Bahrām Gūr performed this feat, they all marveled. The illustration, in a stepped-up format at the center, has been damaged, with text pasted over the right half of the picture except at the very top, where the head of the mighty hunter is visible.

The onager has fallen just short of a tree. Its legs have buckled, its head is tucked under its body, and arrows protrude from buttock and shoulder, although, according to the poem, only one arrow was shot. The sympathetic drawing of the animal conveys nobility as well as pathos in death. The curve of the tree trunk follows the curve of the onager's neck, and the clusters of leaves filling the space above have central rosettes that are reminiscent of the blossoms found in later Indian painting. The ground is white.

Bahrām is also pictured hunting onagers in the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma*.¹ This is apparently a composite scene, combining Bahrām's master shot at the buttocks of one onager with the branding and ear-marking of the herd. The onagers are much smaller

than the king or his horse and are less poignantly presented than the single onager in the Gutman *Shāhnāma*.

1. Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 51 (Worcester Art Museum, 1935.24).

43

The Execution of Mazdak

(1974.290.37 v)

The heretic Mazdak had many converts, including the shāh Qubād. Mazdak's son, who came to be called Nūshīrvān, believed that his father's new religion was evil and so convinced the shāh. Thereupon Qubād turned Mazdak and his followers over to Nūshīrvān. Nūshīrvān planted the followers of Mazdak, head down like trees, within a walled garden, and invited Mazdak to observe the fruit that the seed he had scattered brought forth. Mazdak fainted at the sight. Then the prince ordered that a gibbet be set up



43

and he had Mazdak hanged upside down and slew him with a volley of arrows.

The demise of Mazdak and his followers is graphically presented here. Against a red ground, the lower torsos of two figures, with their legs flopped over by the force of gravity, are shown planted in a garden at the left. The gate to the garden, indicating that it is walled, is placed in the center and decorated with a geometric pattern first found on an Iranian tomb tower of the eleventh century. Mazdak, hanging upside down, is being observed by Nūshīrvān and an attendant, but no arrows are in sight.

Close to each other in composition and iconography are the illustrations of this event in the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas*. In both, five followers of Mazdak are shown planted, with waving legs, in a garden with no walls indicated. Mazdak, in the center of the picture, is seen hanging, right-side up, from a tree, and the prince is shown shooting him with arrows, two of which have already found their target.¹ These images in no way relate to the Gutman miniature. Mazdak's execution also appears in the 1333 Īnjū'id *Shāhnāma* in St. Petersburg (see fig. 34). At the left is the brick gatehouse to the walled garden. Just inside the garden, Mazdak is hanging from a gibbet right-side up, seemingly free from arrow wounds, although some smudging makes it hard to be certain. His five followers, some with bent legs, some with legs straight, are planted in a line in the foreground.



Figure 34. The Execution of Mazdak. Leaf in a *Shāhnāma* manuscript dated A.H. 733/A.D. 1333. Shiraz, Īnjū'id period. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, ex-Dorn 329

Above them are two mounted figures, presumably the prince and an attendant.² Except for the red ground this painting has little in common with either the Gutman or the two Small *Shāhnāma* ones.

1. Simpson, 1979, nos. 101 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.64), 102 (Minneapolis Institute of Art, 51.37.17).
2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 43.

Mihrān Sitād Chooses a Daughter of the Khāqān of Chīn

(1974.290.38 r)

Nūshīrvān sent wise old Mihrān Sitād as his emissary to the khāqān of Chīn to choose a princess for a marriage alliance. Only one of the five princesses was the daughter of the queen and so dearly loved by both parents that they wanted to keep her at home. When Mihrān Sitād was led to the bower of the princesses, all but one was crowned, richly dressed, and suitably made up, yet the shrewd old emissary saw through the ruse and chose the most royal princess for his shāh.

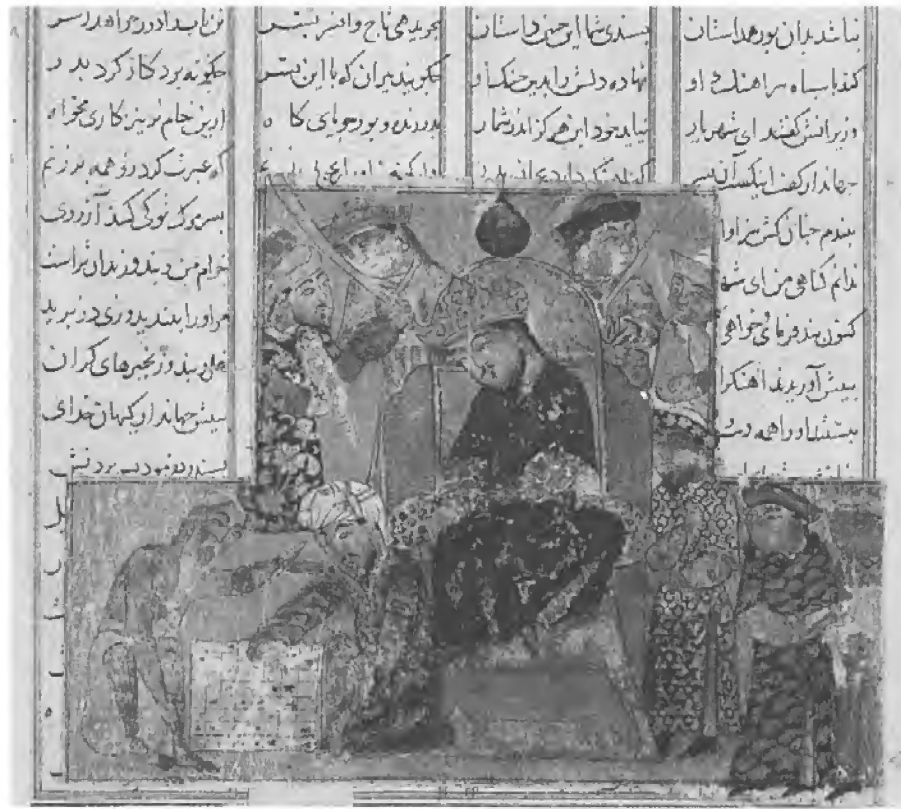
The scene is presented straightforwardly, with the five princesses seated side by side upon one bench-like throne, taking up two-thirds of the picture and extending to the right margin. All but the middle daughter wear crowns, although she is dressed in a robe with rich floral designs influenced by Chinese art—as are the patterns on the throne's valance. Behind the figures, in the stepped-up center of the picture, is an arch with tieback curtains against a

white ground. The queen stands beside the throne, with Mihrān Sitād next to her in the arch of the doorway; he is shorter than she, to accommodate the lower space, but believable for a stooped old man. Despite its simplicity, the image has considerable charm.

In the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* the episode is very differently presented.¹ Although the most royal princess is again in the middle of the group, she is the most elaborately dressed and coiffed, and all are posed differently. Mihrān Sitād and three Chinese courtiers peer at them from behind the grille of a balcony, although how he could see them from there is hard to imagine. An attempt has been made to emulate Chinese architecture. While this is obviously a more complex composition, in quality the Gutman painting holds its own.

1. Grabar and Blair, 1980, no. 58 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 22.392).





45

Būzurjmīhr Masters the Game of Chess

(1974.190.39 r)

The king of Hind sent an embassy to Nūshīrvān with a chessboard and chessmen, challenging the Iranians to figure out how the game was played. If successful, the king of Hind would pay tribute, but if not, Nūshīrvān would pay tribute to him. The shāh accepted the conditions and enlisted his counselors to puzzle it out, but they could not. Būzurjmīhr then appeared and volunteered to accept the task. It took him a day and a night to work out the positions of the pieces and how they moved, and he demonstrated for Nūshīrvān how the game was played before the astonished Indian ambassador.

The illustration has a stepped-up format to accommodate the ruler on his throne and the pair of sword-bearers behind it, and the ground is gold. Nūshīrvān, with one knee drawn up, watches the game in progress between Būzurjmīhr and the Indian ambassador at



Figure 35. Būzurjmīhr Masters the Game of Chess. Leaf from the dispersed First Small *Shāhnāma* manuscript. Possibly Baghdad, about 1300. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1934 (34.24.1)

the lower left. The Indian is pictured as a religious mendicant—already a tradition in Persian painting regardless of a person's rank. Four standing courtiers fill the rest of the available space.

In the First Small *Shāhnāma* this illustration has a different format and composition (see fig. 35).¹ The enthroned ruler is in the center of the composition with the chess players directly below him. On each side are three standing warriors in hats or caps with owl feathers and two seated counselors in Mongol split-brim caps. In the St. Petersburg *Īnjū'id Shāhnāma* of 1333, Būzurjmihr and the ambassador are kneeling at the lower left and two other Indians stand at the left above them; all are black in color. Nūshīrvān is enthroned to the right of Būzurjmihr, with one knee drawn up. A counselor in Arab turban and a throne

guardian stand behind Būzurjmihr, while another counselor is seated at the right margin. A large folded red curtain extends across the top of the painting. The ground is ocher.² While certain features of this last painting, such as the position of the chess players and the pose of the king, are similar on the Gutman page, the style, drawing, palette, and figural and facial types are distinct enough to set the two miniatures apart.

1. Simpson, 1979, no. 63 (MMA, 34.24.1).

2. Adamova and Giuzal'ian, 1985, no. 45.

46

The First Combat of Gav and Talḥand

(1974.290.40 r)

The battle illustrated was the first of three that resulted in the invention of the game of chess. Two Indian princes, who were half brothers, contended for the throne. The elder and wiser, Gav, tried to avoid warfare and, when victorious, allowed his brother to return to his palace. A second battle ended with the same result. For the third conflict, a river and moats dug for the purpose provided a battleground from which there was no retreat. Talḥand, finally hungry, thirsty, and seeing no escape from wind, sun, and the endless clash of arms, died atop his elephant. To help his grieving mother understand what had happened, Gav invented the game of chess, in which the losing king is not killed but whose life nonetheless comes to an end when there is no escape—as indicated by the defective Persian verb *shāh māt*, or checkmate.

Here, the two princes are enthroned upon their war elephants. Each has a dark-skinned, partly nude Indian mahout seated behind him. This is a convention for scenes with elephants, which are apparently associated with India whether the story takes place there or in Iran. Mounted archers and other warriors can be seen in the background, and heads and limbs are ranged along the foreground. The ground is red.

In the First Small *Shāhnāma* a later part of the narrative is illustrated: Gav is shown mourning over the body of his brother,¹ so clearly there was no influence of the one manuscript on the other.

1. Simpson, 1979, p. 375 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.68); not illustrated either in Simpson or in Arberry, Minovi, and Blochet, 1959.





Bahrām Chūbīna Meets a Lady Who Foretells His Fate

(1974.290.41 r)

Bahrām Chūbīna, the commander-in-chief of the Ungrateful king, Hurmuzd, was out hunting when a magic onager appeared and led him through the forest to a magnificent hidden palace. Inside, crowned and enthroned, sat a beautiful lady who told Bahrām Chūbīna that the crown and throne of Iran would be his.

In the miniature, the enthroned lady is placed at the right in the composition, her head tilted toward Bahrām Chūbīna, who appears engrossed in her conversation. Behind the throne are the two traditionally depicted guardians. It is difficult to identify the other figures in the painting, particularly the one seated beside Bahrām, since the lady has sent his companion, who came to inquire after his chief, to join the others outside. The figure at the far left, holding a mace, is probably a palace guard, but the identity of the crowned figure approaching him is a puzzle. If it is

Bahrām Chūbīna leaving the palace, then who is seated beside the throne? The ground is red and a curtain is pulled across the top of the composition.

This anecdote is very rarely illustrated,¹ whereas “Bahrām Chūbīna Wears Woman’s Clothes Sent by Hurmuzd” is the subject of paintings in the First and Second Small *Shāhnāmas*, the 1330 Īnjū’id manuscript in Istanbul, and the 1333 one in St. Petersburg.² Clearly, the Gutman manuscript again stands alone—original in its choice of illustration, which is carried out in a manner uninfluenced by any other known schools.

1. Norgren and Davis, 1969, list only one seventeenth-century miniature with this subject.

2. Simpson, 1979, no. 32 (Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 104.71), p. 381 (McGill, 1972, 2 r), not illustrated; Norgren and Davis, 1969 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine 1479, the 1330 Īnjū’id *Shāhnāma*); Adamova and Giuzal’ian, 1985, no. 46.




The Combat of Khusrau Parvīz and Bahrām Chūbīna

(1974.290.42 r)

To gain the throne of Iran, Bahrām Chūbīna went forth to fight Khusrau Parvīz, son of Hurmuzd, and his Rūman army provided by Caesar, against the advice of wise men. This was but the first of a series of encounters between the two, and only after many adventures did the son and heir of the shāh finally gain his throne.

Too little text remained with this picture when it was cut out and pasted onto another area of text to be sure of the subject. The ground is blue with gold-

dot clusters but has been repainted. Two figures gallop toward each other, their horses head to head. The arms of the man on the left are in the position of loosing an arrow from a bow but no weapons remain visible, and the one on the right seems to have been struck by something. A dust cloud appears behind the figures. What with the overpainting and the general nature of the picture it is of no use to make comparisons with other manuscripts.



The Condition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Small Shāhnāma and the Reconstruction of Its Text

TOMOKO MASUYA

An incomplete manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* bequeathed to The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Monroe C. Gutman in 1974 (accession numbers 1974.290.1–42) consists of 259 leaves: 220 leaves bound in a cloth cover of a later date (1974.290.1) and 39 leaves containing 41 paintings removed from the manuscript (1974.290.2–42). Each leaf measures about $8 \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches (20.3×13 centimeters) and contains four vertical columns with twenty-five rows of horizontal script per column in clear *naskh* script. The story titles, written in gold, red, or blue, are confined in rectangular frames taking up space equal to two columns by two rows; some of them have red backgrounds. Some of the writing in gold is reinforced with red, blue, and green. The lines separating the columns and enclosing the texts are painted in gold on a red background and outlined in black; the outer borders of these texts are further enclosed by blue lines. The manuscript does not contain any colophon, date, or place of production.

The manuscript was first owned by Ph. Walter Schulz in Leipzig,¹ later acquired by Professor O. Moll in Düsseldorf, and then purchased by Monroe C. Gutman in New York.² The provenance of the manuscript is not known in detail.

The manuscript has missing and wrongly placed leaves, and has suffered damage over the centuries. The leaves were probably trimmed from their original size and strips of paper were pasted in the gutters of

all the leaves and along the outside edges of some leaves, for securing the text part before rebinding. Three paintings were cut out from their pages (folios 18r, 22v, and 30r) and sheets of paper with coarse pencil drawings are pasted over the holes; these paintings are lost. Furthermore, patches made up of the text pages of the manuscript were applied to back fragile parts of other leaves, especially those with paintings. Some paintings were also cut out from their original leaves and pasted on unrelated text leaves (1974.290.20r, 25, 26, 27v, 32v, 33v, 35v, 38r, 39r, 40r, and 42v).

By putting the incorrectly ordered leaves in the right sequence, supplementing the missing leaves, and examining the patches, the original state of the manuscript can be reconstructed to a certain degree, as in Chart I. I assigned hypothetical folio numbers to the existing leaves, based on the amount of missing distichs and on the fact that one text page without story titles and paintings contains fifty distichs. The contents of the existing leaves are indicated by volume numbers, page numbers, and distich numbers according to the Mohl edition.³ In the chart, when a page is not preserved completely and its beginning or ending is unknown, the numbers of the beginning and/or ending of the extant distichs are put in angle brackets (< >); when a cutout painting does not accompany any text but its subject is clear, the numbers of the applicable part of the text are indicated

within square brackets ([]). Due to the lacunae—which are too wide to allow the assigning of hypothetical folio numbers—the reconstructible sections of the manuscript are divided into six parts, indicated here from A to F. As seen in Chart II, the estimated total number of leaves in the original state of the manuscript is about 529, of which 260 exist and 19 were used as patches; see Chart III, where (P) denotes a patch of painting.⁴ Consequently, about half of the original manuscript remains.

The history of the missing, incorrectly placed, and damaged leaves of the manuscript is a complicated one. Keys are provided by pagination in Arabic numerals and catchwords noted in the margins. In the pagination and catchwords two hands are recognizable: The first, finer one appears in the first half of the reconstructed manuscript and the second, bolder one in the latter half. The pagination by the first hand is shown in the “Noted No.” column of Chart I. Most of the pagination and catchwords by the second hand and some by the first hand were lost at the time of rebinding due to the trimming of the edges of the leaves. Thus it is obvious that these paginations and catchwords were written before the rebinding. As the pagination of “4” on folio 2r coincides with the reconstructed folio number A-4r, the first folio at the time of pagination was 1974.290.2 (A-1), the same as now. Also, it is clear that by that time there already were a considerable number of missing leaves other than those at the beginning (for example, A-59 and A-60) and some in the wrong place (for example, A-11). Because in some parts the numbers of the leaves used for patches accord with the missing numbers in the pagination (for example, A-2 and A-86), patching was apparently done after the pagination. Other missing numbers indicate that some leaves were further lost after the pagination (for example, A-35 and A-81). Scribbles in Persian on patches of plain paper, which make up the damaged parts after the first patching, indicate that the two patching processes took place before the manuscript was taken to Europe. Probably the paintings on folios 18r, 22v, and 30r were cut out at the same time as the second patching. After the

manuscript reached Europe, someone put European numerals on the leaves with the paintings and on the facing leaves these numbers are shown with a number sign (#) in the “Noted No.” column in Chart I. This fact suggests that the numbering was done to mark the location of paintings in the manuscript on the occasion when the leaves with paintings were separated from the manuscript. From these numbers, we are able to tell that there was considerable disorder of leaves both before and after this numbering in Europe. However, it is not known why the numbering ended with 36, even though there are thirty-nine leaves with forty-one paintings.

Traces of pigment on certain leaves allow us to presume that there were once paintings on the facing pages. The subjects of fifty-three paintings are collected in Chart IV, twelve of which are recovered from the texts that the pages must have contained. The lost paintings include some of popular subjects in other *Shāhnāma* manuscripts, such as “Rustam Slays Suhrāb” (A-60v), “Rustam Shoots His Arrow at Isfandiyār’s Eyes” (B-2v), and “Bahrām Gūr Slays a Wolf” (D-15r). In addition, it is very possible that several missing leaves would have had paintings since a considerable number of leaves that must have contained the texts of important episodes are missing—as, for example, the third, fourth, and fifth of Rustam’s Seven Courses (A-35); almost the entire story of Rustam and Suhrāb (A-48 to A-60, except A-58); Siyāvush’s ordeal by fire (A-67 and A-68); the murder of Siyāvush, the mourning for his death, and the death of Sūdāba (A-88 and A-89); Rustam rescuing Bizhan from a pit (A-163); the battles of the Eleven *Rukhs* (A-182 to A-187); the last wish of Kaykhusrau and his disappearance (A-220 to A-226); the first of Isfandiyār’s Seven Courses (A-248); the sixth and seventh of Isfandiyār’s Seven Courses (A-252 to A-254);⁵ combats between Rustam and Isfandiyār (A-256 to a leaf before B-1, except A-261); most of the stories of Iskandar’s adventures (C-5 to C-12 and C-15 to C-20); the story of Bahrām Gūr and Ārzū (D-2 to D-7); Bahrām Gūr kills a dragon (D-16); and festivals given by Nūshīrvān for Būzurjmihr and the *mubads* (D-38 to

D-45). If, in fact, these paintings were once in this manuscript, it is most unfortunate that so many were lost.

A comparison of the text with those of other *Shāhnāma* manuscripts reveals interesting aspects of the present one. The text of the Gutman *Shāhnāma* is shorter than those of other Small *Shāhnāmas* and does not follow the same versions as any of them. Instead, it shares a close affinity with that of a manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo (Persian History 73), even if they are not identical.⁶ This complete manuscript has a preface and a colophon stating that it was completed by Luṭfallāh b. Mahyā b. Muḥammad . . . ⁷ in A.H. 796 / A.D. 1394 in Shiraz. This is a Muzaffarid manuscript that was completed in the capital of the dynasty in the very year when the capital was conquered by the Timurids. It contains sixty-seven paintings in typical Muzaffarid style, five of which have been published.⁸ The text, in six columns with thirty-one lines per page, is written in *nasta'liq* with some characteristics of *naskh*, preserving archaic orthography. Thus, in spite of its rather later date, the text can be considered as one of the most reliable versions of the *Shāhnāma*, based on an earlier model. Interestingly, it has been indicated that the text of the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* is also close to this Cairo text.⁹

The text of the Gutman *Shāhnāma* poses an interesting question yet to be solved: its relationship to the texts of the Great Īlkhānid *Shāhnāma* and the Cairo *Shāhnāma*. I hope that my reconstruction of the manuscript will draw the attention of scholars to the text of the Gutman *Shāhnāma* and facilitate their further research.

1. Schulz, 1914, pp. 74–75, plates 14–18.
2. Kühnel (1939), p. 1834, n. 3.
3. Mohl, 1838–78. Even though this is not a true critical edition and is based on later versions, it was used here because it is one of the most available complete editions in the United States and Europe and especially because the existence of a concordance facilitated my task of locating the verses (Wolff, 1935). For these reasons, I did not use the critical edition by the Oriental Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences prepared under the supervision of A. E. Bertel's (1960–71), which up until now has been used most by scholars, including M. S. Simpson (1979) and O. Grabar and S. Blair (1980). Presently the most reliable critical edition of the *Shāhnāma* is that edited by D. Khaleghi-Motlagh; three of the projected six volumes are in print (vol. 1, 1988; vol. 2, 1990; vol. 3, 1993).
4. The total number of leaves here, 260, does not accord with the number of existing leaves stated above because one entire leaf (A-7) was pasted onto a painting leaf (1974.290.3; A-14) as a backing. Also, the leaf 1974.290.42 (E-24) with a patched painting is not counted as a patched leaf here; it is impossible to specify whether this patch belonged to a leaf that was also used for other text patches, such as A-250, D-8, and D-49, or whether it belonged to a leaf that was used only to patch a painting because the subject of the painting is too obscure to locate in the text.
5. This manuscript contains four paintings, or possibly more, of Isfandiyār's Seven Courses, while there is only one painting, or possibly two, of Rustam's Seven Courses, which are more popular subjects for illustrations. Also, it is noted that there is no painting, or possibly only one, concerning Siyāvush.
6. Aliev (1965); Khaleghi-Motlagh (1985–86), 3, 3, p. 377, and 4, 2, pp. 231–32.
7. According to Khaleghi-Motlagh. According to Aliev and others, his name is Luṭfallāh b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad. . . .
8. See Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, 1933, plates XXIX A and B, XXX A and B, no. 32; Gray, 1979, ills. 72, 73.
9. Grabar and Blair, 1980, pp. 1–2.

Chart I Text of the Manuscript

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-1r	1974.290.2r		I 218:69	<I 220:108>	Manüchihir	patches from D-55r, D-55v
A-1v	1974.290.2v	#36	I 222:121	I 224:153		painting, a patch from D-55v
A-2r			I 224:154	<I 228:196>		used as patches on A-22r, A-44v, A-45r, A-215v, A-199v
A-2v			<I 228:209>	I 232:255		used as patches on A-18r, A-37v, A-228v, A-229r
A-3r	1r		I 232:256	I 236:307		
A-3v	1v		I 236:308	I 240:356		
A-4r	2r	4	I 240:357	I 244:405		
A-4v	2v		I 244:406	I 248:458		
A-5r	3r	5	I 248:459	I 254:505		
A-5v	3v		I 254:506	I 258:557		
A-6r	4r		I 258:558	I 262:611		
A-6v	4v		I 262:612	I 266:660		
A-7r						
A-7v	1974.290.3v	#35	I 270:709	I 274:757		pasted on A-14v
A-8r	5r	8, #36	I 274:758	I 278:811		
A-8v	5v		I 278:812	I 284:865		
A-9r	6r	9	I 284:866	I 288:922		
A-9v	6v		I 288:923	I 292:971		
A-10r	7r	10	I 292:972	I 296:1024		
A-10v	7v		I 296:1025	I 300:1075		
A-11r	11r	15	I 300:1076	I 304:1123		
A-11v	11v		I 304:1124	I 308:1174		
A-12r	8r	11	I 308:1175	I 312:1225		
A-12v	8v		I 312:1226	I 318:1279		
A-13r	9r	12	I 318:1280	I 322:1330		
A-13v	9v		I 322:1331	I 326:1380		patches from D-55r, D-55v
A-14r	1974.290.3r	13	I 326:1381	I 328:1418		painting
A-14v						A-7v pasted here
A-15r	10r	14, #35	I 332:1465	I 336:1517		
A-15v	10v		I 338:1518	I 342:1572		
A-16r	12r	16	I 342:1573	I 346:1622		
A-16v	12v		I 346:1623	I 352:1688		
A-17r	1974.290.4r	17	I 352:1689	I 356:1748		patches from D-55r, D-55v
A-17v	1974.290.4v	#34	I 356:1749	I 360:1787		painting, a patch from D-55r
A-18r	13r	18, #34	I 360:1788	I 364:1833		a patch from A-2v
A-18v	13v		I 364:1834	I 366:1881		
A-19r	14r	19	I 366:1882	I 372:1932		
A-19v	14v		I 372:1933	I 374:1975		
A-20r	15r	20	I 376:1977	I 380:2025		
A-20v	15v		I 380:2026	I 386:51	Nūzar	
A-21r	16r	21	I 386:52	I 390:112		
A-21v	16v		I 390:113	I 396:165		
A-22r	1974.290.5r		I 396:166	I 400:215		patches from A-2r and D-55r
A-22v	1974.290.5v	#33	I 400:216	I 402:252		painting
A-23r						
A-23v			<I 410:350>	I 412:360		used as patches on A-23r, A-246v
A-24r						
A-24v			<I 420:460>	I 420:468		used as a patch on A-251v
A-25r	17r	25, #33	I 420:469	I 426:521		
A-25v	17v		I 426:524	I 430:576		
A-26r	18r	26	I 430:577	I 432:609		painting (cutout and lost)
A-26v	18v		I 432:610	I 436:44	Zau	
A-27r	19r	27	I 438:45	I 444:46	Garshāsp	

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-27v	19v		I 444:47	I 450:126		
A-28r	1974.290.6r	28	I 450:127	I 452:161		painting
A-28v	1974.290.6v		I 452:162	I 458:228		
A-29r	20r	29, #32	I 458:229	I 464:114	Kayqubad	
A-29v	20v		I 465:15	I 470:91		
A-30r	21r	30	I 470:92	I 476:148		
A-30v	21v		I 476:149	I 480:207		
A-31r	22r		I 482:234	I 488:27	Kaykāvūs A	
A-31v	22v		I 488:30	I 490:65		painting (cutout and lost)
A-32r	23r	32	I 490:66	I 494:108		
A-32v	23v		I 494:109	I 498:158		
A-33r	24r	33	I 498:159	I 502:210		
A-33v	24v		I 502:211	I 508:266		
A-34r	25r	34	I 508:267	I 512:313		
A-34v	25v		I 512:314	I 516:374		
A-35						
A-36r	26r	36	I 524:459	I 528:512		
A-36v	26v		I 528:511	I 532:558		
A-37r	1974.290.7r	37, #31	I 532:560	I 538:615		
A-37v	1974.290.7v		I 538:617	I 542:665		painting, a patch from A-2v
A-38r	28r	38, #31	I 542:666	I 546:726		
A-38v	28v		I 546:727	I 550:779		
A-39r	29r	39	I 550:780	I 554:829		
A-39v	29v		I 554:830	I 560:890		
A-40r	30r	40	I 560:891	I 562:924		painting (cutout and lost)
A-40v	30v		I 564:925	I 568:986		
A-41r	34r	41	I 568:987	II 8:42	Kaykāvūs B	
A-41v	34v		II 8:43	II 12:98		
A-42r	35r	42	II 12:99	II 16:146		
A-42v	35v		II 16:147	II 20:198		
A-43r	31r	43	II 20:199	II 26:255		
A-43v	31v		II 26:257	II 30:299		
A-44r	1974.290.8r	44	II 30:315	II 34:355		painting
A-44v	1974.290.8v		II 34:356	II 40:419		patches from A-2r and F-13v
A-45r	1974.290.9r		II 40:421	II 44:468		patches from A-2r and F-13r
A-45v	1974.290.9v	#29	II 44:469	II 46:503		painting
A-46r	32r	46, #29, #30	II 46:504	II 50:548		
A-46v	32v		II 50:549	II 54:596		
A-47r	33r	47	II 54:598	II 58:639		
A-47v	33v		II 58:641	II 64:704		
A-48					Kaykāvūs C	
A-49						
A-50						
A-51						
A-52						
A-53						
A-54						
A-55						
A-56						
A-57						
A-58r	36r	55	II 146:900	II 150:955		
A-58v	36v		II 152:956	II 156:1014		
A-59						
A-60						painting (trace on the facing page)
A-61r	37r	56	II 172:1200	II 178:1286		
A-61v	37v		II 178:1287	II 184:1347		
A-62r	38r		II 184:1348	II 190:1423		
A-62v	38v		II 190:1424	II 194:17	Kaykāvūs D	
A-63r	39r	58	II 194:18	II 200:70		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-63v	39v		II 200:72	II 204:121		
A-64r	40r	59	II 204:122	II 210:186		
A-64v	40v		II 210:187	II 214:237		
A-65r	41r	60	II 214:238	II 218:290		
A-65v	41v		II 218:291	II 222:342		
A-66r	42r	61	II 222:343	II 228:394		
A-66v	42v		II 228:395	II 232:444		
A-67						
A-68						
A-69r	43r	62	II 248:631	II 252:681		
A-69v	43v		II 252:682	II 256:729		
A-70r	44r	63	II 256:730	II 260:777		
A-70v	44v		II 260:778	II 264:829		
A-71r	45r	64	II 264:830	II 268:876		
A-71v	45v		II 268:877	II 272:925		
A-72r	46r	65	II 274:926	II 278:973		
A-72v	46v		II 278:974	II 282:1031		
A-73r	47r	66	II 282:1032	II 286:1077		
A-73v	47v		II 286:1078	II 290:1127		
A-74r	48r	67	II 290:1128	II 294:1180		
A-74v	48v		II 294:1181	II 300:1233		
A-75r	49r	68	II 300:1234	II 304:1290		
A-75v	49v		II 304:1291	II 308:1343		
A-76r	50r	69	II 308:1344	II 312:1390		
A-76v	50v		II 312:1391	II 316:1439		
A-77r	51r	70	II 316:1440	II 320:1489		
A-77v	51v		II 320:1490	II 324:1536		
A-78r	52r	71	II 326:1537	II 330:1588		
A-78v	52v		II 330:1586	II 334:1641		
A-79r	53r	72	II 334:1642	II 338:1694		
A-79v	53v		II 342:1749	II 348:1801		
A-80r	54r	73	II 348:1802	II 352:1850		
A-80v	54v		II 352:1851	II 356:1908		
A-81r	55r	74	II 356:1909	II 362:1960		
A-81v	55v		II 362:1961	II 366:2012		
A-82r	56r	75	II 366:2013	II 370:2062		
A-82v	56v		II 370:2063	II 374:2112		
A-83r	57r	76	II 374:2113	II 378:2165		
A-83v	57v		II 378:2166	II 382:2217		
A-84r	58r	77	II 382:2218	II 386:2265		
A-84v	58v		II 386:2266	II 392:2314		
A-85r	59r	78	II 392:2315	II 396:2379		
A-85v	59v		II 396:2380	II 402:2440		
A-86r			<II 404:2468>	<II 408:2508>		used as patches on A-151v, A-228r, A-229r
A-86v			<II 408:2528>	<II 410:2541>		used as patches on A-148v, A-151v
A-87r	60r	80	II 410:2545	II 414:2587		
A-87v	60v		II 414:2588	II 418:2637		
A-88						
A-89					Kaykāvūs E	
A-90			<II 442:1122>	<II 442:1123>		painting pasted on C-24r
A-91						
A-92r	140r	84	II 452:233	II 456:286		
A-92v	140v		II 456:287	II 460:335		
A-93r	141r	85	II 460:341	II 464:394		
A-93v	141v		II 466:395	II 470:441		
A-94						
A-95r	142r		II 478:551	II 484:608		
A-95v	142v		II 484:609	II 488:655		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-96						
A-97r	143r	88	II 498:770	II 502:821		
A-97v	143v		II 502:822	II 506:875		
A-98r	144r	89	II 506:877	II 514:959		
A-98v	144v		II 514:960	II 518:1017		
A-99						
A-100r	145r	91	II 526:1112	II 532:1165		
A-100v	145v		II 532:1166	II 538:1254		
A-101r	146r	92	II 538:1255	II 544:1311		
A-101v	146v		II 544:1312	II 548:1365		
A-102r	147r	93	II 548:1366	II 554:1417		
A-102v	147v		II 554:1419	II 560:26	Kaykhusrau A	
A-103r	1974.290.10r		II 560:27	II 564:64		painting
A-103v	1974.290.10v		II 564:66	II 568:115		a patch from F-13r
A-104r	148r	95. #27	II 568:116	II 572:163		
A-104v	148v		II 572:164	II 576:215		
A-105r	149r	96	II 576:216	II 580:266		
A-105v	149v		II 580:267	II 584:313		
A-106r	150r	97	II 584:314	II 588:366		
A-106v	150v		II 588:367	II 592:413		
A-107r	151r	98	II 592:414	II 598:472		
A-107v	151v		II 598:473	II 602:521		
A-108r	152r	99	II 602:522	II 608:580		
A-108v	152v		II 608:581	II 612:631		
A-109						painting (trace on the facing page)
A-110r	153r		II 620:719	II 624:766		
A-110v	153v		II 624:767	II 628:818		
A-111r	61r	101	II 628:819	II 632:865		
A-111v	61v		II 632:866	II 636:926		
A-112r	62r		II 636:927	II 642:981		
A-112v	62v		II 642:982	II 646:1029		
A-113r	63r		II 646:1030	II 650:1078		
A-113v	63v		II 650:1079	II 654:1132		
A-114r	64r		II 654:1133	II 660:1183		
A-114v	64v		II 660:1184	II 662:1230		
A-115r	65r	105	II 664:1231	II 668:1278		
A-115v	65v		II 668:1279	II 672:1328		
A-116r	66r	106	II 672:1329	II 676:1374		
A-116v	66v		II 676:1375	II 680:1425		
A-117r	122r	107	II 680:1426	II 684:1480		
A-117v	122v		II 684:1481	II 688:1533		
A-118r	123r	108	II 688:1534	II 692:1588		
A-118v	123v		II 692:1589	II 696:1635		
A-119r	124r	109	II 696:1636	II 702:1685		
A-119v	124v		II 702:1686	III 8:37	Kaykhusrau B	
A-120r	125r	110	III 8:38	III 12:88		
A-120v	125v		III 12:89	III 16:137		
A-121r	126r	111	III 16:138	III 20:184		
A-121v	126v		III 20:185	III 24:237		
A-122r	1974.290.11r		III 24:238	III 28:277		painting
A-122v	1974.290.11v		III 28:278	III 32:317		a patch from F-13v
A-123r	127r		III 32:318	III 34:362		
A-123v	127v		III 36:366	III 38:413		
A-124r	128r		III 38:414	III 44:464		
A-124v	128v		III 44:465	III 48:516		
A-125r	154r		III 48:517	III 52:569		
A-125v	154v		III 52:571	III 56:616		
A-126r	155r		III 56:620	III 60:676		
A-126v	155v		III 60:677	III 70:795		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-127r	156r		III 70:796	III 74:842		
A-127v	156v		III 74:843	III 78:890		
A-128						
A-129						
A-130r	157r		III 94:1077	III 100:1136		
A-130v	157v		III 100:1137	III 104:1191		
A-131r	158r		III 104:1192	III 108:1241		
A-131v	158v		III 108:1242	III 112:1291		
A-132r	159r		III 112:1292	III 116:1344		
A-132v	159v		III 116:1345	III 120:1394		
A-133r	1974.290.12r		III 120:1395	III 124:1432		painting
A-133v	1974.290.12v		III 124:1433	III 128:1482		a patch from F-13r
A-134						
A-135r	160r	#26	III 136:1571	III 142:126	Kaykhusrau C	
A-135v	160v		III 142:127	III 146:76		
A-136r	161r		III 146:77	III 150:126		
A-136v	161v		III 150:127	III 154:179		
A-137r	162r		III 154:178	III 158:229		
A-137v	162v		III 158:230	III 162:281		
A-138r	163r		III 162:282	III 168:336		
A-138v	163v		III 168:337	III 172:389		
A-139						
A-140r	164r		III 180:487	III 184:538		
A-140v	164v		III 184:539	III 188:587		
A-141r	165r		III 188:588	III 192:633		
A-141v	165v		III 192:634	III 196:683		
A-142r	1974.290.13r		III 196:684	III 200:722		painting
A-142v	1974.290.13v		III 200:723	III 206:781		a patch from F-13r
A-143r	167r	#25	III 206:782	III 210:832		
A-143v	167v		III 210:832	III 214:884		
A-144r	168r		III 214:885	III 218:928		
A-144v	168v		III 218:929	III 222:982		
A-145r	1974.290.14r		III 222:983	III 226:1026		painting
A-145v	1974.290.14v	#24	III 226:1027	III 230:1077		patches from F-13r, F-13v
A-146r	166r	#24	III 230:1078	III 234:1130		
A-146v	166v		III 234:1132	III 238:1181		
A-147r	169r		III 238:1182	III 242:1236		
A-147v	169v		III 244:1238	III 248:1289		
A-148r	1974.290.15r		III 248:1290	III 250:1331		painting
A-148v	1974.290.15v	#25	III 252:1333	III 256:1392		a patch from A-86v
A-149r			<III 256:1395>	<III 258:1423>		used as a patch on A-216r
A-149v						
A-150r	170r	#23	III 264:1493	III 270:15	Kaykhusrau D	
A-150v	170v		III 270:16	III 278:100		
A-151r	1974.290.17r		III 278:106	III 282:142		painting
A-151v	1974.290.17v		III 282:143	III 286:194		patches from A-86r, A-86v
A-152r	171r	#22	III 286:195	III 292:14	Kaykhusrau E	
A-152v	171v		III 292:15	III 298:78		
A-153r	1974.290.18r		III 298:79	III 302:136		
A-153v	1974.290.18v	#21	III 302:137	III 306:176		painting
A-154						
A-155r	172r	#21	III 314:279	III 320:334		
A-155v	172v		III 320:335	III 324:386		
A-156r	173r		III 324:387	III 328:441		
A-156v	173v		III 328:442	III 334:494		
A-157r	174r		III 334:495	III 338:545		
A-157v	174v		III 338:546	III 342:596		
A-158r	27r		III 342:597	III 346:645		
A-158v	27v		III 346:646	III 350:696		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-159r	175r		III 350:697	III 354:745		
A-159v	175v		III 354:746	III 360:804		
A-160r	176r		III 360:805	III 364:861		
A-160v	176v		III 364:862	III 368:909		
A-161r	67r		III 368:910	III 372:957		
A-161v	67v		III 374:958	III 378:1010		
A-162r	68r		III 378:1011	III 382:1045		
A-162v	68v		III 382:1046	III 386:1119		
A-163						
A-164r	69r		III 394:1210	III 398:1258		
A-164v	69v		III 398:1259	III 402:1311		
A-165r	70r		III 404:1312	III 406:1358		
A-165v	70v		III 408:1359	III 412:14	Kaykhusrau F	
A-166r	71r		III 412:15	III 416:67		
A-166v	71v		III 418:68	III 420:115		
A-167r	72r		III 420:116	III 424:164		
A-167v	72v		III 426:165	III 430:212		
A-168r	73r		III 430:215	III 434:262		
A-168v	73v		III 434:263	III 436:305		
A-169r	74r		III 436:306	III 440:355		
A-169v	74v		III 442:355	III 446:402		
A-170r	75r		III 446:403	III 450:452		
A-170v	75v		III 450:453	III 454:500		
A-171r	76r		III 454:501	III 458:554		
A-171v	76v		III 458:555	III 462:612		
A-172r	77r		III 462:613	III 468:668		
A-172v	77v		III 468:670	III 472:722		
A-173						
A-174						
A-175r	78r		III 488:909	III 492:956		
A-175v	78v		III 492:958	III 496:1005		
A-176r	79r		III 496:1006	III 500:1059		
A-176v	79v		III 500:1060	III 504:1109		
A-177r	80r		III 504:1110	III 508:1161		
A-177v	80v		III 508:1162	III 512:1210		
A-178r	81r		III 512:1211	III 516:1262		
A-178v	81v		III 516:1263	III 520:1313		
A-179r	82r		III 520:1314	III 524:1363		
A-179v	82v		III 526:1364	III 528:1411		
A-180r	83r		III 530:1419	III 534:1461		
A-180v	83v		III 534:1462	III 536:1506		
A-181r	84r		III 538:1508	III 542:1559		
A-181v	84v		III 542:1560	III 546:1610		
A-182						
A-183						
A-184						
A-185						
A-186						
A-187						
A-188r	85r		III 592:2143	III 596:2091		
A-188v	85v		III 596:2092	III 600:2138		
A-189r	1974.290.19r	#20	III 600:2139	III 604:2187		
A-189v	1974.290.19v		III 604:2188	III 606:2218		painting
A-190r	86r	#20	III 608:2219	III 612:2265		
A-190v	86v		III 612:2266	III 616:2316		
A-191r	87r		III 616:2317	III 620:2365		
A-191v	87v		III 620:2366	III 624:2416		
A-192r	88r		III 624:2417	IV 611	Kaykhusrau G	
A-192v	88v		IV 614	IV 10162		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-193r	89r		IV 10:63	IV 14:112		
A-193v	89v		IV 14:113	IV 18:180		
A-194						
A-195r	90r		IV 26:269	IV 30:318		
A-195v	90v		IV 30:319	IV 34:366		
A-196r	91r		IV 34:367	IV 38:416		
A-196v	91v		IV 38:417	IV 42:465		
A-197r	92r		IV 42:466	IV 46:513		
A-197v	92v		IV 46:514	IV 52:564		
A-198r	96r		IV 52:565	IV 56:612		
A-198v	96v		IV 56:613	IV 60:660		
A-199r	1974.290.16r		IV 60:661	IV 62:696		painting
A-199v	1974.290.16v		IV 62:697	IV 66:747		a patch from A-2r
A-200r	93r		IV 66:748	IV 70:795		
A-200v	93v		IV 70:796	IV 74:845		
A-201r	94r		IV 74:846	IV 78:891		
A-201v	94v		IV 78:892	IV 84:949		
A-202r	95r		IV 84:950	IV 88:1004		
A-202v	95v		IV 88:1005	IV 92:1054		
A-203r	97r	#19	IV 92:1055	IV 98:1107		
A-203v	97v		IV 98:1108	IV 102:1155		
A-204r	98r		IV 102:1157	IV 106:1207		
A-204v	98v		IV 106:1208	IV 110:1257		
A-205						painting (trace on the facing page)
A-206r	99r		IV 116:1340	IV 120:1389		
A-206v	99v		IV 122:1390	IV 126:1441		
A-207						
A-208r	100r		IV 134:1544	IV 138:1591		
A-208v	100v		IV 138:1593	IV 142:1640		
A-209r	101r		IV 142:1641	IV 146:1691		
A-209v	101v		IV 146:1692	IV 150:1738		
A-210r	102r		IV 152:1739	IV 156:1786		
A-210v	102v		IV 156:1787	IV 160:1839		
A-211r	103r		IV 160:1840	IV 164:1886		
A-211v	103v		IV 164:1887	IV 168:1939		
A-212						painting (trace on the facing page)
A-213r	104r		IV 176:2027	IV 180:2073		
A-213v	104v		IV 180:2074	IV 184:2121		
A-214r	105r		IV 184:2122	IV 188:2171		
A-214v	105v		IV 188:2172	IV 192:2226		
A-215r	106r		IV 192:2227	IV 196:2274		
A-215v	106v		IV 196:2275	IV 200:2324		a patch from A-2r
A-216r	1974.290.21r		IV 200:2315	<IV 202:2353>		a patch from A-149r
A-216v	1974.290.21v	#18	IV 204:2414	IV 208:2413		painting
A-217r	107r	#18	IV 208:2414	IV 212:2462		
A-217v	107v		IV 212:2463	IV 216:2510		
A-218r	108r		IV 216:2511	IV 220:2560		
A-218v	108v		IV 220:2561	IV 224:2607		
A-219r	109r		IV 224:2608	IV 230:2659		
A-219v	109v		IV 230:2660	IV 234:2711		
A-220						
A-221						
A-222						
A-223						
A-224						
A-225					Luhrāsp	
A-226						
A-227r	110r		IV 288:320	IV 292:373		
A-227v	110v		IV 292:374	IV 298:230		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
A-228r	1974.290.22r		IV 298:231	IV 300:259		painting, a patch from A-86r
A-228v	1974.290.22v		IV 300:269	IV 304:317		a patch from A-2v
A-229r	1974.290.23r		IV 304:318	IV 310:371		patches from A-2v and A-86r
A-229v	1974.290.23v	#16	IV 310:372	IV 314:425		painting
A-230						
A-231r	1974.290.24r		IV 322:529	IV 326:560		painting, a patch from A-23v
A-231v	1974.290.24v		IV 326:566	IV 330:620		
A-232r	111r	#15, #16, #17	IV 330:621	IV 336:678		
A-232v	111v		IV 336:679	IV 340:727		
A-233r	112r		IV 340:728	IV 344:783		
A-233v	112v		IV 344:784	IV 348:839		
A-234r	113r		IV 350:840	IV 354:896		
A-234v	113v		IV 354:897	IV 360:29	Gushtāsp	
A-235r	114v	#11, #12, #13, #14	IV 360:30	IV 368:112		
A-235v	114r		IV 368:113	IV 372:171		
A-236						
A-237r	1974.290.32r		IV 384:320	IV 392:417		
A-237v	1974.290.32v		IV 392:418	IV 400:495		painting from C-14r
A-238						
A-239						
A-240						
A-241						
A-242r	1974.290.39r		IV 438:949	IV 442:998		painting from D-54
A-242v	1974.290.39v		IV 442:1000	IV 446:1048		
A-243						
A-244						
A-245						
A-246r	1974.290.26	#13	IV 472:1343	IV 476:1390		painting from A-249v
A-246v	1974.290.25		IV 476:1391	IV 480		painting from A-249r, a patch from A-23v
A-247r	1974.290.27r		<IV 482:1462>	IV 484:1493		a patch from A-250r
A-247v	1974.290.27v	#14	<IV 486:1519>	IV 488:1540		painting from A-250v
A-248						
A-249r			<IV 498:1655>	IV 498:1656		painting pasted on A-246v
A-249v			<IV 500:1691>	IV 500:1692		painting pasted on A-246r
A-250r			IV 500:1694	<IV 502:1716>		used as patch on A-247r
A-250v			IV 504:1741	<IV 506:1755>		painting pasted on A-247v, used as a patch on A-251v
A-251r	1974.290.28r		IV 508:1780	IV 510:1814		painting
A-251v	1974.290.28v		IV 510:1815	<IV 514:1854>		patches from A-24v and A-250v
A-252						
A-253						
A-254						
A-255r	1974.290.29r		IV 542:2181	IV 544:2214		painting
A-255v	1974.290.29v		IV 544:2216	IV 548:2270		patches from A-261v
A-256						
A-257						
A-258						
A-259						
A-260						
A-261r						
A-261v			IV 588:2741	<IV 594:2796>		used as patches on A-255v
B-1r						
B-1v			IV 664:3633	<IV 670:3711>		used as patches on B-7r, B-7v, E-4v
B-2						painting (trace on the facing page)
B-3r	115r		IV 680:3821	IV 684:3871		
B-3v	115v		IV 684:3872	IV 688:3920		
B-4r			<IV 690:3939>	IV 692:3971		used as a patch on C-21r

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
B-4v			<IV 692:3977>	IV 696:4019		used as two patches on C-21v
B-5r	116r		IV 696:4020	IV 700:4067		
B-5v	116v		IV 700:4068	IV 704:4113		
B-6						
B-7r	1974.290.30		IV 712:4214	<IV 714:4236>		painting, a patch from B-1v
B-7v	1974.290.31	#10	IV 716:4251	IV 718:4286		painting, a patch from B-1v
B-8						
B-9r	117r	#10	IV 728:4392	V 6:29	Bahman	
B-9v	117v		V 6:30	V 10:75		
C-1					Dārā	painting (trace on the facing page)
C-2r	118r		V 94:400	V 98:448		
C-2v	118v		V 98:449	V 102:37	Iskandar	
C-3r	119r		V 102:38	V 106:88		
C-3v	119v		V 106:89	V 112:137		
C-4r	120r		V 112:138	V 116:185		
C-4v	120v		V 116:186	V 120:240		
C-5						
C-6						
C-7						
C-8						
C-9						
C-10						
C-11						
C-12						
C-13r	1974.290.33r		V 184:997	V 188:1049		
C-13v	1974.290.33v		V 188:1050	V 192:1097		painting from C-17
C-14r			<V 192:1110>			painting pasted on A-237v
C-14v						
C-15						
C-16						
C-17			[V 216:1402]	[V 218:1424]		painting pasted on C-13v
C-18						
C-19						
C-20						
C-21r	1974.290.34r		V 250:1794	<V 252:1809>		a patch from B-4r
C-21v	1974.290.34v	#9	V 254:1844	<V 256:1868>		painting, patches from B-4v
C-22					Ashkāniyān	
C-23r	121v		V 268:22	V 272:66		
C-23v	121r	#9	V 272:67	V 276:115		
C-24r	1974.290.20r		V 276:116	V 280:162		painting from A-90
C-24v	1974.290.20v		V 280:163	V 284:210		
C-25						
C-26						
C-27						
C-28						
C-29						
C-30					Ardashir Babakān	
C-31r	129r	#8	V 336:52	V 342:115		
C-31v	129v		V 342:116	V 348:198		
C-32r	130r		V 348:199	V 352:250		
C-32v	130v		V 352:251	V 356:300		
D-1r	1974.290.36r		V 608:669	V 610:702	Bahrām Gūr A	painting, a patch from D-8r
D-1v	1974.290.36v		V 610:703	V 614:752		a patch from D-49r
D-2						
D-3						
D-4						
D-5						

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
D-6						
D-7						
D-8r			<V 662:1340>	<V 664:1378>		used as a patch on D-1r, painting pasted on D-9v
D-8v						
D-9r	1974.290.35r		V 668	V 672:1457		
D-9v	1974.290.35v		V 672:1458	V 676:1508		painting from D-8r
D-10r	206r	#5	V 676:1510	V 680:1561		
D-10v	206v		V 680:1562	V 684:1609		
D-11					Bahrām Gūr B	
D-12r	179r		VI 12:104	VI 16:154		
D-12v	179v		VI 18:155	VI 22:205		
D-13r	180r		VI 22:206	VI 26:253		
D-13v	180v		VI 26:254	VI 30:308		
D-14r	181r		VI 30:309	VI 34:358		
D-14v	181v		VI 34:359	VI 38:408		
D-15						painting (trace on the facing page)
D-16						
D-17r	182r		VI 54:592	VI 58:638		
D-17v	182v		VI 58:639	VI 62:694		
D-18r	183r		VI 62:695	VI 66:749		
D-18v	183v		VI 66:750	VI 72:804		
D-19r	184r		VI 72:805	VI 76:860		
D-19v	184v		VI 76:861	VI 84:7	Yazdigird	
D-20r	185r		VI 84:8	VI 92:12	Hurmuz, Pīrūz	
D-20v	185v		VI 92:13	VI 98:68		
D-21r	186r		VI 98:69	VI 102:127		
D-21v	186v		VI 102:128	VI 108:36	Balāsh	
D-22r	187r		VI 108:37	VI 112:86		
D-22v	187v		VI 112:87	VI 116:137		
D-23r	188r		VI 116:138	VI 122:191		
D-23v	188v		VI 122:192	VI 128:51	Qubād	
D-24r	193r		VI 128:52	VI 132:113		
D-24v	193v		VI 134:114	VI 138:162		
D-25r	194r		VI 138:163	VI 142:219		
D-25v	194v		VI 142:220	VI 146:273		
D-26r	1974.190.37r	#7	VI 146:274	VI 152:331		
D-26v	1974.290.37v		VI 152:332	VI 156:377		painting
D-27r	195r	#7	VI 156:380	VI 162:26	Kisrā Nūshirvān	
D-27v	195v		VI 162:27	VI 166:82		
D-28r	196r		VI 166:83	VI 170:132		
D-28v	196v		VI 170:133	VI 174:185		
D-29r	197r		VI 174:186	VI 178:235		
D-29v	197v		VI 178:236	VI 182:282		
D-30r	198r		VI 184:283	VI 188:333		
D-30v	198v		VI 188:334	VI 192:384		
D-31r	199r		VI 192:385	VI 196:431		
D-31v	199v		VI 196:432	VI 200:480		
D-32r	200r		VI 200:481	VI 204:538		
D-32v	200v		VI 204:539	VI 208:594		
D-33r	201r		VI 210:595	VI 214:647		
D-33v	201v		VI 214:648	VI 218:695		
D-34r	202r		VI 218:696	VI 222:745		
D-34v	202v		VI 222:746	VI 226:797		
D-35r	203r		VI 226:798	VI 230:849		
D-35v	203v		VI 230:850	VI 234:899		
D-36r	204r		VI 234:890	VI 238:945		
D-36v	204v		VI 238:946	VI 242:992		
D-37r	1974.290.38r		VI 242:993	VI 246:1032		painting from D-49r

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
D-37v	1974.290.38v		VI 246:1033	VI 250:1079		
D-38						
D-39						
D-40						
D-41						
D-42						
D-43						
D-44						
D-45						
D-46r	205r	#6	VI 318:1909	VI 322:1959		
D-46v	205v		VI 322:1960	VI 326:2008		
D-47						
D-48						
D-49r			VI 344:2208	<VI 344:2221>		painting pasted on D-36r, used as a patch on D-1v
D-49v						
D-50r	189r		VI 350:2291	VI 354:2340		
D-50v	189v		VI 354:2341	VI 358:2393		
D-51r	190r		VI 358:2394	VI 362:2443		
D-51v	190v		VI 364:2444	VI 368:2494		
D-52r	191r		VI 368:2495	VI 372:2542		
D-52v	191v		VI 372:2543	VI 376:2594		
D-53r	192r		VI 376:2595	VI 380:2647		
D-53v	192v		VI 380:2648	VI 384:2696		
D-54						painting pasted on A-242r
D-55r			VI 390:2781	VI 394:2832		used as patches on A-1r, A-13v, A-17r, A-17v, A-22r
D-55v			VI 394:2833	VI 398:2882		used as patches on A-1r, A-1v, A-13v, A-17r
D-56						
D-57						
D-58						
D-59			[VI 424:3179]	[VI 432:3281]		painting pasted on E-8r
E-1					Hurmuzd	painting (trace on the facing page)
E-2r	208r	#3, #4	VI 646:1230	VI 650:1281		
E-2v	208v		VI 650:1282	VI 654:1333		
E-3r	209r		VI 654:1334	VI 660:1389		
E-3v	209v		VI 660:1390	VI 664:1442		
E-4r	1974.290.41r		VI 664:1443	VI 666:1478		painting
E-4v	1974.290.41v		VI 666:1479	VI 672:1531		a patch from B-1v
E-5r	211r		VI 672:1532	VI 676:1578		
E-5v	211v		VI 676:1579	VI 680:1635		
E-6r	212r		VI 680:1632	VI 684:1683		
E-6v	212v		VI 684:1684	VI 688:1744		
E-7r	207r		VI 688:1745	VI 694:1798		
E-7v	207v		VI 694:1799	VI 698:1847		
E-8r	1974.290.40r		VI 698:1848	VI 702:1899		painting from D-59
E-8v	1974.290.40v		VI 702:1900	VII 6:16	Khusrau Parvīz	
E-9r	213r	#1, #2	VII 6:17	VII 10:69		
E-9v	213v		VII 10:70	VII 14:122		
E-10r	214r		VII 14:124	VII 18:173		
E-10v	214v		VII 18:174	VII 24:240		
E-11r	215r		VII 24:241	VII 28:293		
E-11v	215v		VII 28:294	VII 34:356		
E-12r	216r		VII 36:389	VII 42:457		
E-12v	216v		VII 42:458	VII 46:513		
E-13r	217r		VII 46:514	VII 50:571		
E-13v	217v		VII 50:572	VII 56:627		

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	NOTED NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	KING	REMARKS
E-14r	218r		VII 56:630	VII 60:683		
E-14v	218v		VII 60:684	VII 64:733		
E-15r	219r		VII 64:734	VII 70:789		
E-15v	219v		VII 70:790	VII 74:840		
E-16r	220r		VII 74:841	VII 78:900		
E-16v	220v		VII 78:901	VII 84:957		
E-17r	210r		VII 84:958	VII 88:1020		
E-17v	210v		VII 88:1021	VII 94:1085		
E-18						
E-19						
E-20						
E-21						
E-22						
E-23						
E-24r	1974.290.42r		VII 140:1643	VII 144:1697		
E-24v	1974.290.42v	#3	VII 144:1698	<VII 148:1737>		painting pasted here
F-1r	131r		VII 306:3631	VII 310:3680		
F-1v	131v		VII 310:3681	VII 314:3728		
F-2r	132r		VII 314:3729	VII 318:3780		
F-2v	132v		VII 318:3781	VII 322:3832		
F-3r	133r		VII 322:3833	VII 326:3884		
F-3v	133v		VII 326:3886	VII 330:3931		
F-4r	134r		VII 330:3929	VII 336:3983		
F-4v	134v		VII 336:3984	VII 338:4031		
F-5r	135r		VII 340:4032	VII 344:4082		
F-5v	135v		VII 344:4083	VII 348:4142		
F-6r	178r		VII 348:4143	VII 352:4193		
F-6v	178v		VII 352:4194	VII 360:449	Qubād (Shīrūy)	
F-7r	136r		VII 360:450	VII 364:497		
F-7v	136v		VII 364:499	VII 366:530		
F-8r	137r		VII 366:531	VII 370:580		
F-8v	137v		VII 370:581	VII 372:621		
F-9r	138r		VII 372:622	VII 376:652		
F-9v	138v		VII 376:653	VII 380:705		
F-10r	139r		VII 380:706	VII 386:768		
F-10v	139v		VII 386:769	VII 390:818		
F-11r	177r		VII 390:819	VII 394:873		
F-11v	177v		VII 394:876	VII 398:924		
F-12					Ardashīr-i Shīrūy	painting (trace on the facing page)
F-13r			VII 408:22	<VII 412:18>	Gurāz	used as patches on A-45r, A-103v, A-133v, A-142v, A-145v
F-13v			<VII 416:66>	<VII 418:18>	Pūrāndukht	used as patches on A-44v, A-122v, A-145v

Chart II Number of the leaves

SECTION	BEGINNING	ENDING	EXISTING LEAVES	PATCH LEAVES	MISSING LEAVES	TOTAL
Lacuna 1	I 41	I 218:68			about 27	about 27
A	I 218:69	<IV 394:2796>	187	9	65	261
Lacuna 2	(IV 594)	(IV 660)			about 8	about 8
B	<IV 664:3633>	V 10:75	4	2	3	9
Lacuna 3	V 10:76	(V 82)			about 9	about 9
C	<V 94:400>	V 356:300	9	2	21	32
Lacuna 4	V 356:301	V 608:668			about 31	about 31
D	V 608:669	(VI 432:3281)	32	5	22	59
Lacuna 5	(VI 432)	(VI 638)			about 26	about 26
E	<VI 646:1230>	<VII 148:1737>	17	0	7	24
Lacuna 6	(VII 148)	VII 306:3630			about 20	about 20
F	VII 306:3631	<VII 418:18>	11	1	1	13
Lacuna 7	(VII 418)	(VII 502)			about 10	about 10
Total			260	19	about 250	about 529

NUMBER	BEGINNING	ENDING	FOLIOS APPLIED AS PATCHES
A-2	I 224:154	I 232:255	A-18r, A-22r, A-37v, A-44v, A-45r, A-199v, A-215v, A-228v, A-229r
A-23	(I 402:253)	I 412:360	A-231r, A-246v
A-24	(I 412:361)	I 420:468	A-251v
A-86	(II 402:2441)	II 410:2544	A-148v, A-151v, A-228r, A-229r
A-90	<II 442:122>	<II 442:123>	C-24r (P)
A-149	III 256:1395	(III 264:1492)	A-216r
A-249	<IV 498:1655>	IV 500:1692	A-246r (P), A-246v (P)
A-250	IV 500:1694	(IV 506:1779)	A-247r, A-247v (P), A-251v
A-261	<IV 588:2741>	<IV 594:2796>	A-255v
B-1	<IV 664:3633>	<IV 670:3711>	B-7r, B-7v, E-4v
B-4	(IV 688:3921)	IV 696:4019	C-21r, C-21v
C-14	(V 192:11098)	<V 192:110>	A-237v (P)
C-17	[V 216:1402]	[V 218:1424]	C-13v (P)
D-8	<V 662:1340>	<V 664:1378>	D-1r, D-9v (P)
D-49	VI 344:2208	(VI 350:2290)	D-1v, D-37r (P)
D-54	(VI 384:2697)	(VI 390:2780)	A-242r (P)
D-55	VI 390:2781	VI 398:2882	A-1r, A-1v, A-13v, A-17r, A-17v, A-22r
D-59	[VI 424:179]	[VI 432:3281]	E-8r (P)
F-13	VII 408:22	<VII 418:18>	A-44v, A-45r, A-103v, A-122v, A-133v, A-142v, A-145v
?	—	—	E-24v (P)

Chart IV Paintings

NUMBER	FOLIO NO.	BEGINNING	ENDING	SUBJECT
A-1v	1974.290.2v	I 222:121	I 224:153	Zāl in the <i>Simurgh's</i> Nest
A-14r	1974.290.3r	I 326:1381	I 328:1418	Zāl Delivers Sām's Letter to Manūchīhr
A-17v	1974.290.4v	I 356:1749	I 360:1787	Sām Comes to Inspect Rustam
A-22v	1974.290.5v	I 400:216	I 402:252	The Combat of Qāran and Afrāsiyāb
A-26r	18r	I 430:577	I 432:609	(Afrāsiyāb Slays Ighrīrath)
A-28r	1974.290.6r	I 450:127	I 452:161	Rustam Lassos Rakhsh
A-31v	22v	I 488:30	I 490:65	(Kaykāvūs Enthroned)
A-37v	1974.290.7v	I 538:617	I 542:665	Rustam Kills the White Div
A-40r	30r	I 560:891	I 562:924	(The Combat of Kaykāvūs and the King of Mazandaran)
A-44r	1974.290.8r	II 30:315	II 34:355	Rustam Captures the Shāh of Shām and the Shāh of Berber
A-45v	1974.290.9v	II 44:469	II 50:503	Kaykāvūs Falls from the Sky
A-60v			(II 172:1119)	(Rustam Slays Suhrāb)
A-90	1974.290.20r	<II 442:122>	<II 442:123>	Farāmarz Slays Varāzād
A-103r	1974.290.10r	II 560:27	II 564:64	Rustam Comes from Kabul to Pay Homage to Kaykhusrau
A-109v			(II 620:718)	(The Combat of Tūs and Firūd)
A-122r	1974.290.11r	III 24:238	III 28:277	The Combat of Tūs and Hūmān
A-133r	1974.290.12r	III 120:1395	III 124:1432	The Combat of Rustam and Ashkabūs
A-142r	1974.290.13r	III 196:684	III 200:722	Rustam Lassos the Khāqān of Chīn, Pulling Him from His White Elephant
A-145r	1974.290.14r	III 222:983	III 226:1026	The Combat of Rustam and Kāfūr
A-148r	1974.290.15r	III 248:1290	III 250:1331	The Combat of Rustam and Pūlādvard
A-151r	1974.290.17r	III 278:106	III 282:142	Rustam Is Thrown into the Sea by the Div Akvān
A-153v	1974.290.18v	III 302:137	III 306:176	Bīzhan Slaughters the Wild Boars of Irmān
A-189v	1974.290.19v	III 604:2188	III 606:2218	Gustaham Slays Lahhāk and Farshidvard
A-199r	1974.290.16r	IV 60:661	IV 62:696	Kaykhusrau Wrestles with Shīda
A-205v			(IV 116:1339)	(Kaykhusrau Attacks Afrāsiyāb)
A-212r		(IV 168:1940)		(The Combat of Kaykhusrau and the King of Makrān)
A-216v	1974.290.21v	IV 204:2414	IV 208:2413	Kaykhusrau Slays Afrāsiyāb
A-228r	1974.290.22r	IV 298:231	IV 300:259	Caesar Gives His Daughter Katāyūn to Gushtāsp
A-229v	1974.290.23v	IV 310:372	IV 314:425	Gushtāsp Slays the Rhino-Wolf
A-231r	1974.290.24r	IV 322:529	IV 326:560	Gushtāsp Slays the Dragon of Mount Saqlā
A-249r	1974.290.25	<IV 498:1655>	IV 498:1656	Isfandiyār's Second Course: He Slays the Lions
A-249v	1974.290.26	(IV 498:1657)	IV 500:1692	Isfandiyār's Third Course: He Slays a Dragon
A-250v	1974.290.27v	IV 504:1741	(IV 508:1779)	Isfandiyār's Fourth Course: He Slays a Sorceress
A-251r	1974.290.28r	IV 508:1780	IV 510:1814	Isfandiyār's Fifth Course: He Slays the <i>Simurgh</i>
A-255r	1974.290.29r	IV 542:2181	IV 544:2214	Isfandiyār Slays Arjāsp and Takes the Brazen Hold
B-2v			(IV 680:3820)	(Rustam Shoots His Arrow at Isfandiyār's Eyes)
B-7r	1974.290.30	IV 712:4214	IV 716:4250	Rustam Dies
B-7v	1974.290.31	IV 716:4251	IV 718:4286	Rustam Avenges His Own Impending Death
C-1v			(V 94:399)	(Dārā's Last Wish to Iskandar)
C-14r	1974.290.32v	<V 192:1110>		Iskandar in the Presence of the Brahmins
C-17	1974.290.33v	[V 216:1402]	[V 218:1424]	Iskandar Speaks with the Bird on the Mountain
C-21v	1974.290.34v	V 254:1844	<V 256:1868>	The Funeral of Iskandar
D-1r	1974.290.36r	V 608:669	V 610:702	Bahrām Gūr Slays a Dragon, Which, When Killed, Reveals a Dead Youth Inside
D-8r	1974.290.35v	<V 662:1140>	<V 664:1178>	Bahrām Gūr Hunts the Onager
D-15r		(VI 38:409)		(Bahrām Gūr Slays a Wolf)
D-26v	1974.290.37v	VI 152:332	VI 156:377	The Execution of Mazdak
D-49r	1974.290.38r	VI 344:2208	<VI 344:2221>	Mihrrān Sitād Chooses a Daughter of the Khāqān of Chīn
D-54	1974.290.39r	[VI 384:2696]	[VI 390:2780]	Būzurjmihr Masters the Game of Chess
D-59	1974.290.40r	[VI 424:3179]	[VI 432:3281]	The First Combat of Gav and Tallhand
E-1v			(VI 646:1229)	(Hurmuzd's Letter Reaches Bahrām Chūbīna)
E-4r	1974.290.41r	VI 664:1443	VI 666:1478	Bahrām Chūbīna Meets a Lady Who Foretells His Fate
F-12v			(VII 408:21)	(Shīrīn Kills Herself)
?	1974.290.42r	—	—	The Combat of Khusrau Parvīz and Bahrām Chūbīna (?)

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